DEBATES

AT

THE EAST-INDIA HOUSE,

DURING THE

NEGOCIATION FOR A RENEWAL

OF THE

EAST-INDIA COMPANY'S CHARTER,

HELD AT VARIOUS

COURTS OF PROPRIETORS

OF

EAST-INDIA STOCK,

IN THE YEAR 1813.

BY AN IMPARTIAL REPORTER.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Aliorum benè dicta colligendo, delectat.

LONDON:

Printed for BLACK, PARRY, and Co Booksellers to the Hon. East-India Company, Leadenhall-street;

Where each Debate may be had singly to complete imperfect Sets.

1813.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE subject of renewing THE COMPANY's Charter has not only opened a new field for the display of eloquence, but has been the occasion of turning almost every man's mind toward the Indian Empire.

From the interest acquired, under the discussion of so important an object, the Scholar has been induced to trace the rise and fall of eastern

dynasties; the firm, but almost silent establishment of British sovereignty, in a country of different language, of opposite habits, and of invincible prejudices; while the Statesman, in weighing the influence of India on European politics, will contemplate its government, population, arts, capabilities, and commerce, with all those various and nameless contingencies which attach to so extensive a country.

The question has long ceased to be one of partial concern, factious agitation, or ephemeral consequence; it has become a fixed and splendid object for wonder and reflection.

Under this impression these Debates have been collected into one body, as the source of general curiosity, and for the purposes of reference. The Editor has endeavoured *fideliter audita loqui*; and is enabled to state, that all future debates,

of sufficient importance, in the Court of Proprietors, will be taken in short-hand and regularly published.

Sept. 21, 1813.

THE

PRELIMINARY DEBATE

AT THE

EAST-INDIA HOUSE,

On Tuesday, the 5th January, 1813,

ON THE

NEGOCIATION WITH HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS

RELATIVE TO A

RENEWAL OF THE CHARTER;

WITH

AN APPENDIX

CONTAINING ALL THE LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS

REFERRED TO UPON THE SUBJECT.

BY AN IMPARTIAL REPORTER.

LONDON:

Printed for BLACK, PARRY, and CO. Leadenhall Stree

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Lincoln's-Inn-Fields.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The subject of the following Debate is of so important a nature, involving the existence of the East-India Company with the prosperity of this Country, that the Reporter feels it an incumbent duty to present it to the Public. He is aware of the interest it must necessarily excite in the breasts of men devoted to the honour, the justice, and the happiness of Great Britain, and he has endeavoured to preserve the sentiments of the several speakers as faithfully, as the hasty sketches of the pen, and the recorded recollections of memory, will allow; and he pledges himself to report the ensuing Debate, which is expected to be the most animating, as it certainly will be the most momentous, with accurate fidelity, having engaged the most eminent short-hand writers expressly for that purpose.

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PRELIMINARY DEBATE,

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A General Court of PROPRIETORS was held at the East India House on Tuesday, January the 5th, 1813, for the purpose of taking into consideration the several communications and documents relative to the late negociation between his *Majesty's Ministers* and the *Committee of Correspondence*, respecting a RENEWAL OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S CHARTER.

The Chair was taken by Sir HUGH INGLIS at twelve o'clock; when the minutes of the last Court having been read as usual, he stated to a large, opulent, and respectable assembly, that the Court of Proprietors had been called, in order that he might submit to their consideration the communications of His Majesty's Government to the Directors, on a most important subject—*the Renewal of the Company's Charter*. From the papers to be laid before them he was sorry to

observe, that the result of those communications was most unfavourable to the views and to the interests of the Company.—The last communication on the subject was contained in a letter from Lord Buckinghamshire; but received the night before, at so very late an hour, it was impossible for him to communicate with others, or indeed to bestow upon it himself all the consideration its importance required. He did not, of course, find himself at liberty to express the sentiments and feelings of the Court of Directors; but, for his own part, he could have no hesitation to confess, that this last letter had made on his mind a most serious and fearful impression.

The first paper laid upon the table contained the minutes of the Secret Committee of Correspondence (No. I. in the Appendix), dated November the 27th, 1812, wherein it was reported to the Committee, that the Chairman and Deputy Chairman had held a conference, that very morning, with the President of the Board of Commissioners, on the subject of renewing the Company's Charter, at which his Lordship (Lord Buckinghamshire) declared it to be the intention of His Majesty's Government, not to abandon the proposition of allowing a direct trade between India and the outports of the United

Kingdom, subject to modifications and restrictions—requesting a conference on the subject with Lord Liverpool and himself. The paper proceeds to state, that after communicating with the Committee of Correspondence,

A letter from the Chairman and Deputy Chairman (No. II. Appendix), dated November 21, 1812, was dispatched to Lord Buckinghamshire, acquainting him, that the Committee received the communication with the deepest concern; that such a measure, even in a most limited and restricted degree, would be highly prejudicial to the public revenue, injurious to the East-India Company, and detrimental to the prosperity of the merchants, manufacturers, traders, and other numerous bodies interested with the commerce of India.

Lord Buckinghamshire's next letter was then read (No. III. Appendix), dated November 28, 1812, requesting that Lord Liverpool, and other members of the Board of Commissioners, might be present at the conference with the Chairman and Deputy Chairman.

The next document (No. IV.) was a minute of the Secret Court of Directors, held on the 2d day of December 1812, stating that an unreserved conference had been held between His Majesty's Ministers and the Committee of Cor-

respondence, wherein it was agreed no minutes should be taken.

The next minute (No. V. Appendix) was of a Secret Committee, held on the 15th day of December, merely stating, two conferences had been held between His Majesty's Ministers and the Committee, *viz.* on the 5th and 12th of December, 1812; but no communication to the Court appeared necessary.

It appeared from the minute (No. VI. Appendix), that the Court, adverting to a statement made, with their approbation, to a General Court, respecting the late conferences on the subject of renewing the Charter, the Court deemed it proper His Majesty's Ministers should be apprized the Court were of opinion, unanimously and decidedly, that the admission of the imports from India to the outports of the United Kingdom would be ruinous and pernicious in its consequences.

A report was then read (No. VII. Appendix) from a Committee of the whole Court, dated December 18th, 1812, stating that the proposition was pregnant with ruin to the Company, rendering them incapable of performing the functions allotted to them, either commercially or politically.

Another document (No.VIII.Appendix) stated this resolution had been communicated to the President of the Board of Commissioners.

Then followed the letters (No. IX. and X. Appendix): after which the Chairman ordered the last letter of Lord Buckinghamshire, before referred to, and received the previous night, to be read (No. XI. Appendix). This letter was dated January the 4th, 1813, stating, that, however His Majesty's Ministers might wish to be frank and explicit on the subject of a Renewal of the Charter, they could not engage in the controversy as a party, to which the objections of the committee would ultimately lead: — conceived His Majesty's Ministers had discharged their duty, by expressing the terms on which they thought it expedient a renewal of the Company's Charter should be recommended to Parliament: —that His Majesty's Ministers had had personal communications with others, who thought themselves interested in the general question; and were not called upon to give an answer, in detail, to the objections of the Company:—that petitions had been presented to Parliament for opening the trade:—in respect to points of regulation, every thing submitted to Parliament would have for its basis *the extension of the import trade*:— he was not aware that any alteration in the go-

vernment of India was intended:—how far the extension might endanger the trade and safety of the British government in India, and the British constitution at home, must be submitted to the wisdom of Parliament:—if the government could not be carried on without the Company, then the Company must remain in its present state; there was no alternative:—no alteration, however, in the government was intended, and all traders would be subject to local regulations.

The *Chairman* rose, and observed that the manner and the importance of the letter now before them, suggested the propriety of its being read a second time. *(Applauses.)*

He proceeded to inform them, that all the papers would be printed and delivered the next day.—He then said,

" I am happy to declare, that the Court of Directors is ever ready and anxious to give every information in their power to the Court of Proprietors. That which is their duty and their desire at all times, becomes incalculably so, at so momentous a crisis as the present, when the interests and very vitality of the Company are at stake.—It would be highly desirable that the opinions and feelings of the Proprietors should be known and diffused, as quickly and as widely as possible;

but I am sure that, in the present instance, they will act as they always have done, with a deliberate reflection: they will not rush into a hasty decision, without a cautious and severe investigation. It is my recommendation, that the question should be calmly and dispassionately considered in your closets. It will neither be expedient nor wise to form a judgement on the impulse of the moment. Not that I or the Directors would dissuade or prevent immediate discussion: we wish to know the spontaneous sentiments of every Proprietor—we do not deprecate discussion, we anxiously desire it; but we wish to defer decision. Numerous and respectable as the Court now is, there are many not present of unquestionable talent and interest, whose opinions it were most desirable to be acquainted with, whose arguments it would be gratifying to hear, and who would naturally wish to have an opportunity of expressing their feelings:—it would not be doing them justice, if the question were to be finally determined, without affording them time to reflect deeply, and explain themselves fully, upon the subject.—Dispassionate inquiry, calm deliberation, comprehensive reflection, were to be recommended, at a crisis so anxious and so awful. —The Directors, as a body, have had no time to communicate, no opportunity to form an opi-

nion, and of course no opportunity to offer one, on the subject of this last letter: but the Proprietors can be at no loss to guess what their feelings are.—I will not take upon myself to speak for them; I do not explain their opinion.—The Directors have had no time for meeting to discuss particulars and to consolidate their judgments, in the interval of late last night and eleven o'clock to day; but I, for myself, declare, that I see nothing in Lord Buckinghamshire's last letter, that should persuade us to depart from our former sentiments and resolutions.—We would have met earlier, at any hour whatever, had it been possible to have summoned a meeting; but we have not been able to see each other till our attendance at this Court was required. We shall be glad to hear the sentiments of any Proprietor disposed to indulge us with them now; and to collect what your opinions are, on the subject of an ultimate discussion."

Mr. Rigby admitted the necessity of calm and deliberate reflection; but if the moment was awful, and the crisis a fearful one, they were calculated to call forth all the impulse of present feeling, and all the energies of nature.—He applauded the attention, the perseverance, and the talent of the Directors on a trying occasion. The manly and discreet part they

had taken deserved not merely their warmest support but their thanks by acclamation. They must all feel the deepest regret at the unfortunate issue of the negociation: and many would participate with him in feelings of a still stronger nature, on the perusal of Lord Buckinghamshire's most extraordinary letter. His Lordship truly did not condescend to give them any information, but referred them to the petitions on the table of the House of Commons. He was astonished, and full of alarm and indignation, to find any Minister in this country daring enough to make such a declaration, and in a certain degree to upbraid the Company for assuming the patronage of India. The greatest men this country has lately known, Mr. Pitt, and the late Lord Melville, had held and avowed the opinion, that an Administration seizing upon the patronage of India, would infallibly destroy the constitution of this country. Taking a broad and steady view of the whole correspondence, he saw no prospect afforded, no argument adduced, that could persuade any rational mind to wish any chan e, any deviation of policy, in respect of India: nor, from the face of the documents, did it appear, that the Directors had given even the shadow of occasion

for drawing down upon them such contemptuous treatment as they had received from Government.

Mr. R. Thornton (the Deputy Chairman) observed, that his opinions stood upon record: they were unequivocally given, they were universally known; still, on such a momentous occasion, he could not satisfy himself, he should not do his duty if he did not express his present feelings.—The trust committed to his hands was an awful one: it was his determined intention to exercise the functions of office faithfully and intrepidly. He had received the acquiescence and support of the Company in all the negociations with His Majesty's Government; and while he received such approbation, he would neither betray their interests nor dishonor himself. *(Applauses.)*——Much management and considerable ingenuity had, for several years past, been misapplied, in seducing the opinions and agitating the interests of men. False expectations had been raised, and visionary passions tampered with, in order to induce Petitions to the House of Commons. Air-blown bubbles in all their gaudy colourings, specious as they were empty, were flying in every direction, to astonish the ignorant and allure the unwary.—Terms to which opprobrium had long been applied by custom, had been wrested from their proper meaning, in order to stamp an odium on

what was technically, legally, and justly called, the "well regulated Monopoly" of the East India Company—and all for what? to acquire an extension of trade for individuals, which must inevitably terminate in their final destruction; the gay and splendid scenery would soon fade away, and all their speculations would become as light, as the bubbles of imagination which so fatally deluded them. What was this universal panacea, by which this general commerce was to be established?—why, the destruction of the only commerce in the world which remains entire and unshaken:—the destruction of that commerce, which while all other Trading had fallen to pieces, Bonaparte eagerly coveted, as the dearest jewel of his crown: that commerce, which has been the envy of our enemies, the pride of our country, the admiration of mankind. What did this enemy say? "I want Ships, Colonies, and Commerce." The ships, the colonies, and commerce of this Company he is hovering over; hovering over, ready to devour. Well, if the trade is to be opened, our ships will be transformed into revenue cutters. We might keep our colonies, perhaps, but colonizaton would destroy our territory. As to commerce, legitimate, honorable commerce, it would sink into illicit trade. Our merchants, such of

them who are now dazzled with the gold and silver of India and China, would return to the iron of Birmingham and Sheffield.

The propositions of Government were too irrational to be lasting; as the cause of the Company was just, it required them only to be firm, in order to be successful.

And what is the time when this great commercial revolution is proposed? the time when a bright star of hope had illumined the northern hemisphere, the promised and welcome harbinger of general peace.—If such a peace could be produced on safe and honorable terms; if the usual habits of commerce should again return to us; when the deliverance of Europe is effected, when the loud and general congratulations of joy are rapturously exchanging—how would the East India Company appear, how would they congratulate each other?—in the lamentation, that while commerce is raising her head and smiling all around her, her merchants are despoiled and ruined, her hopes set for ever, her interests wantonly sacrificed to the wild schemes of visionary experiment. It would be much better for them at once to wind up their concerns, to give up all thoughts of India, and seek for other pursuits, than linger on a few years in gradual decay, and then sink into nothing.—He hoped

they would now act, so that, on future reflection, they should not accuse themselves of deserting or neglecting their duty.

The Rev. Mr. Thirlwall acceded to the importance and magnitude of the question. He allowed, that the great object, the uniting indissolubly the government and the trade of India, were matters of the first consideration; but there were others too, which though of minor importance, might judiciously be added to the weight already in the scale of this great question:—he meant the innumerable families which would be thrown into instant ruin in the immediate circle of the metropolis; the industry that would be palsied, the charities that would be frozen up, the entire depopulation of various parishes, which must inevitably sink in the same ruin with the East-India Company.—If the government and territory were reserved to them, the trade would be divided and dispersed, far from the homes and reach of those whose whole dependance will be divided and dispersed with it:—he called therefore on the justice and humanity of His Majesty's Government, not to press a wanton experiment of certain distress for uncertain advantage:—a distress incalculable in its misery: an advantage, even in its utmost success, trifling and worthless:—he trusted, therefore, that Government would give

up the measure, before the Company should be compelled to come to a final decision.

Mr. Kennard Smith could not withhold his testimony of praise to the wise and able conduct of the Directors during the negociation with His Majesty's Ministers; and he trusted that many other persons present would express their feelings and their sentiments, in order to enable the Chairman to decide upon the answer which ought to be returned to Lord Buckinghamshire's letter.—If they looked back to the charter of James the First, about two centuries ago, they would find the grant was *for ever*, unless it should be found prejudicial to these realms. Is it so found? if not, there can be no reason why any of its provisions and privileges should be taken away. Let it be *proved* to be prejudicial;—that would be perhaps a 'fair ground for opening its trade or abolishing it altogether;—but *prove* it first, and do not let assertion and power usurp the place of argument and justice.—He was well aware it could not be proved; but he was not convinced that opening the trade would not be prejudicial to these realms. His conviction was to the contrary. From his practical knowledge he felt the most decided assurance that the measure was fraught with destruction, not to the Company only, but to those speculators who

were now revelling in imagination on the spoils of the East. If the trade should be opened to the outports, it would be much better for the Company to resign its charter, to sell its territory and possessions, its buildings and its stores, and every individual of it retire to the occupations of private life. The China trade alone, could not support the expences of the Charter. His Majesty's Ministers could not have seriously reflected on the number of seamen supplied to the navy by East-India shipping.—He adverted to the time of Queen Elizabeth, when not more than six ships sailed to India; and to their present number, a number which supplies an average of 7400 seamen for the navy, exclusive of Lascars. He conceived they had an unquestionable claim on government for the value of their freehold in India, which they enjoyed by a right as firm and unshaken as any freehold which could be held in this country.

Mr. R. Grant rose and said:

Mr. Chairman,—Encouraged by the invitation which you have held out to the individual proprietors, to take a part in this discussion, I venture to offer myself, not with any purpose of entering into a detailed consideration of the particular measure respecting the outports, which has been the immediate occasion of calling us together, for that subject will better be discussed

on a future day: but in order to express my surprise at the singular letter with which we have been favoured by one of His Majesty's Ministers; a letter, in which they are pleased explicitly to inform us, that they have every disposition to honor us with a free and unreserved communication of their *sentiments*, but are not at all disposed to communicate their *arguments*. The question, Sir, to which we are reduced by this letter, is indeed one of the utmost seriousness and importance. It is no other than this: whether the Company shall throw themselves on the justice of parliament and of the nation, in a contest with His Majesty's executive government; or whether all the political interests of India, and of England, as connected with India, shall be made the subject of commercial experiment?

Surprised as I am with the tone of the Minister's letter, I profess myself still more astonished at the matter. We are there told that, unless we accede to the measure proposed, it will be open to the consideration and decision of parliament, whether the political interests involved in the government of India, cannot be effectually provided for under some other system of administration than the present. Open to the consideration and decision of parliament! I thought, Sir, that parliament had considered and decided

the question long ago. I have always of late understood it to be the general opinion of the government, the parliament, and the nation, that the system of the Company was in every view the most eligible organ for the management of the great and complicated interests in question. But I suppose this annunciation of Ministers to be a sort of commentary on a sentiment in the former letter of Lord Buckinghamshire; where he states that, although it be *expedient* to leave the government of India in the hands of the Company, yet there is a *limit* to that expediency. Now, Sir, as I have ever understood that the expediency of the system in the contemplation of Ministers respected the people of India at least as much as the nation at home, I can translate the proposition of Lord Buckinghamshire only into this, that there is a limit to the expediency of governing well:—there is a limit to the care and attention which we are bound to bestow on the security and welfare of the immense population confided to our management. And what, Sir, is that limit? The commercial convenience of the outports.—True, we are under the most solemn obligation to conduct with vigilance and fidelity the administration of that vast empire: but, imperative, sacred, and indispensable as this obligation is,

we shall be too strict, too zealous in our construction of it, if, in the prosecution of our object, we compel a vessel which has cleared outwards from Bristol, to discharge her homeward cargo in the Thames. Thus do ministers weigh the ledger-books of the outports against the great Charter of the rights and happiness of fifty millions of men!—*(Applause.)*

Disclaiming, Sir, as I have once already done, any discussion at the present moment respecting the admittance of the outports into the import-trade of India, I will yet just ask, whether, considering this, not as an individual and insulated measure, but in connexion with past events, the Company have no solid ground of objection against it? Have the Company no ground of objection against it, as being one further step in that series of progressive encroachments, which have for some years been taking place on their privileges? Have they no right, without reference to this specific development of the general principle, to resist it on the ground that, if they do not make a stand somewhere, they will lose all?—*(Applause)*. There was a period, when the Company were compelled to contend with Government for all their privileges, commercial and political. That attack on them failed; and it almost seems as if Ministers had converted the

siege into a blockade. First, we were obliged to provide a quantity of extra-tonnage for the individuals:—then, the trade was to be thrown open to private ships: then, the outports were to be admitted into the export-trade;—now the outports are to be admitted into the import-trade. And I beg leave to observe, that I mention these, not as encroachments on our commercial privileges, though even in that view they might well bear remark; but as encroachments on the resources of the Company, and as therefore more and more trenching on that fund, on which the Company must rely for the due discharge of their political duties. If we are to judge, according to the rule of all worldly wisdom, from the past to the future, is it possible to doubt what will be the next step? According to the present intention, the free traders are to conduct their concerns, subject to the regulations of the local governments of India, and they are to be completely debarred from the trade of China. Can there be a doubt that their next attack will be on these obstacles? To do them justice, they make no secret of their wishes. And the imprescriptible right of Britons to a free trade, commercial liberty, the right of locomotion, all those topics on which the advocates of the private traders are apt to dilate, somewhat more extravagantly

than wisely, will be exactly as good then as at the present hour.

I do not mean to insinuate that the Government;—and I would observe that, by that term, I do not mean this or that Government, but the National Government,—entertain a deliberate and systematic design of annihilating the Company. But it is in the nature of things. It is in the nature of power to be encroaching and aggressive. And if this train of consecutive aggressions is to continue, it is too easy to perceive what will be its termination. Left in possession of all our political functions, but stripped one by one, of all the means and facilities which we possess for the exercise of those functions, we shall at length be compelled to resign every thing without a struggle, and shall then have the comfort of being told that it is a voluntary surrender. The edifice will be permitted to remain entire and untouched; no hostile hand ostensibly stretched out against it; no warlike engine threatening its walls; but, in the mean time, it is gradually undermined, and, when it collapses with a great ruin, it will be said to have fallen by its own weight. The familiar but lively and happy illustration employed by a great departed orator in Parliament, may be applied to this subject;

we shall be checkmated with all our pieces on the board.—*(Applause.)*

I cannot help thinking, Sir, that, in the present crisis, it would be well to remind Ministers and the public, of the services which the Company have rendered both to this country and to India. On this head, indeed, the greatest misrepresentations prevail. That such services have, in fact, been rendered, not one of your antagonists ventures to deny; but it is not uncommonly insinuated in the publications which have appeared against you, that they were the result of accident, or that the merit of them exclusively belongs to the enlightened men whom you have chanced to employ. The Company, in the mean time, are charged with having no concern for the interests, either of their country or of their subjects, with being wholly absorbed in a selfish regard for their advantage.

If it be indeed true, that the Company are occupied solely by an attachment to their own interests, I yet do not know that the advocates of free trade are exactly the persons the best authorised to reproach them with that failing. I am by no means persuaded, that the motives by which those gentlemen are actuated are of a much more exalted nature.—*(Applause.)*

Is it, however, the fact, that the Company have no claims on the gratitude either of their country or of their subjects? Let history answer that question. I regret—I do not palliate—the disorders which, in some instances, took place at the commencement of their government as a territorial power. Those were disorders, however, naturally incident to a recent acquisition of dominion, especially to an acquisition accompanied by the strongest individual temptations; and they were, as soon as possible, corrected by the Company at home. But, while these misdeeds, whatever they were, are, on every occasion, studiously trumpeted forth, the eminent services rendered by the Company, both to this country and to that, are completely overlooked, or are ascribed to any other cause than good intention. Why, Sir, when, about the time of the civil commotions in England, the Indo-British trade, from the effect of those troubles, was for near thirty years in hourly danger of annihilation;—when, at other periods, both anterior and subsequent, that trade was in hourly danger of extinction from the formidable malice of European rivals;—when it weathered those storms by exertions of fortitude and perseverance unparalleled in the commercial annals of the world;—do the Company, who conducted it, deserve no

credit for their management and public spirit? When the Indo-British settlements were, for twenty years together, engaged in an arduous struggle with the hostility of France, and that hostility directed by some of the ablest public functionaries, civil and military, that France has ever produced; when they endured through that dreadful season; when they not only endured through it, but, having entered it as a set of comparatively insignificant ports, emerged from it an empire; do the counsels and conduct of the Company, who supplied the means of these achievements, deserve no praise for the result? Then,—as to the inhabitants of India, —when Lord Clive repaired to that country, for the second time, as a governor,—when he went out in the character, no longer of a soldier, but of a pacificator,—to check irregularities, to reform abuses, to consolidate the dominions acquired, and to secure the rights and welfare of the natives,—did he undertake this important service by accident, or was he expressly delegated to it by the votes of a triumphant majority of this very court? When, afterwards, the same illustrious man,—and the incident deserves notice, as not wanting applicability to some parts of the present discussion,—sensible of the irregularities and atrocities committed by the free

traders up the country, and anxious to hush the groans of the suffering natives, chased the whole tribe of those oppressors to Calcutta;—was this act purely the emanation of his own great mind, or do your records exhibit the precise instructions which he had received from the Company at home for the accomplishment of the reformation in question? I cannot help mentioning another illustrious and revered name, a name dear (I doubt not) to every individual present. When Lord Cornwallis adopted the measure of the perpetual settlement,—and though there still subsist some differences of opinion respecting the policy of that measure, there never were two opinions as to its magnanimity, did he act by chance, or entirely from himself, or are not the express instructions of the Company on record, in which they enjoin on him the full application of his comprehensive judgment, with the view of ameliorating the condition of the natives in that very respect? All those laws and regulations, under the protection of which the natives repose, —which secure to them a pure administration of justice, a freedom from European competition in the purchase and management of land, a tranquil enjoyment of their property,—the Magna Charta, as they may be called, and Bill of Rights of the population of Hindostan,—did they spring

up spontaneously, did the servants of the Company call them from the ground by a stamp of the foot?—or are your voluminous records pregnant with evidence to shew, that the principles of all those improvements had been the previous subjects of your deep and anxious deliberation, of your minute and positive orders?

I have the firmest belief, Sir, in the capabilities of individual energy to effect mighty things. But, at the same time, it is plain that a public functionary can accomplish little, unless he is countenanced and supported by his principals. The great men to whom I have alluded, acted greatly; but whence did they acquire their first movement?—whence was derived the first impulse of their great actions? Why, Sir, from within these very walls which are now decorated with their effigies. You have a right to consecrate their dead renown; for you formed their living greatness *.—(*Applause.*)

The question then recurs, Sir; is all this system of establishments, the fruit of so much labour, achieved by so much solicitude, matured

* The wall of the room in which the Court of Proprietors meet has niches, in which are placed the statues of Lord Clive, Lord Cornwallis, Sir Eyre Coote, and other eminent men.

by time, justified by experience, to be made the sport of a commercial experiment? Grant all the commercial arguments of our opponents; bu is it possible not to see that a commercial measure may lead to the most fatal political consequences? That such is the strong infallible tendency of the particular measure before us, is clearly proved in the correspondence of the Directors with the Government,—proved by arguments, to which the Government refuse an answer. It menaces the subversion of the constitution of India; and, permit me to add, by no very remote consequence, the subversion of that of England also.

It is curious to observe, Sir, how differently men estimate the evil of political changes in this country and in India. In England we have a constitution which is the work of ages, and the wonder of the world. For this constitution we glory in cherishing even a bigotted attachment, and if any innovator proposes for our adoption a measure which appears to touch its fundamental principles, we hear him no longer;—we cry, "away with your commercial calculations! we "cannot afford such an experiment! *Nolumus* "*leges Angliæ mutari!*" Thus we all act—and we act well. But what, meantime, is our conduct respecting India? There, also, is a con-

stitution, the slow creation of years; a constitution which has not, indeed, attained theoretical perfection,—perhaps not even all the practical perfection of which it is capable,—I am not competent to judge of that,—but of which I will yet be bold to say, that, considering the peculiar circumstances of the country; considering the nature and political capacity of the natives; considering the relations subsisting between the two countries, it is scarcely a less wonderful work, scarcely a less important achievement, than the British constitution itself. Yet when we object to an innovation proposed by ministers, on the ground that it will probably affect the vitals of this constitution, they are pleased gravely to assure us that our apprehensions are *probably* unfounded; and we are charged with a spirit of captiousness, contumacy, and war, because, in a case which is absolutely one of life and death to the natives of Hindostan, we refuse to be put off with contingent remedies and conjectural safeguards.—(*Applause*).

Amidst the provincial wit, Sir, which has, during the course of this controversy, been pointed against the Company, I have found it said, that all the reasonings of that body resolve themselves into an argument *ad misericordiam*, —an address to the compassion of the public.

One of these reasonings *ad misericordiam* you have heard from a gentleman below me (Mr. Thirlwal), and I would ask whether it contained nothing of an impressive nature,—nothing to touch the feelings of humanity? For my own part, without the hope and without the desire of rivalling the ingenious mirth to which I have alluded, I will say, not wittily, but gravely, that were I to address the public on the present subject, mine *should* be an argument *ad misericordiam*. It *should* be an appeal to their compassionate feelings:—but to their compassionate feelings not in behalf of the Company, however likely to be ruined by adventurers; nor in behalf of adventurers, however likely to ruin themselves—mine should be an appeal to the compassion of the people of England in favour of the people of India. I would earnestly remind them that a system in which the welfare and happiness of Hindostan, in a political point of view, are essentially bound up, a system admitted to have this character (for never let that be forgotten) on all hands, may, by the rage of commercial speculation, be utterly pulled to pieces in a few years. I would intreat that, in their anxiety to settle the discontents of a comparatively small number of persons at home, they would not run the risk of unsetting the content

and tranquillity of the immense population dependent on them in India. I would beseech them not to be more swayed by the din and tumult which pervades a small part of their own country, than by the profound and uncomplaining stillness which reigns throughout that vast continent. I would implore them to do by the people of India as they would do by themselves; and then I have not the smallest doubt of the result.—*(Long and reiterated applause.)*

Mr. Smith (the Bank Director) was of opinion, that the most advisable proceeding in the present stage of the business would be, to adopt the sentiments of the Chairman, and adjourn to an early period.

The *Chairman* signified his concurrence.

Mr. Kennard Smith moved, that thanks be given to the Court of Directors, for the firm, zealous, and vigilant conduct which they had hitherto evinced for the interests of the Proprietors, concluding with a resolution of adjournment to the 19th instant.

Mr. Lewis requested, that the Resolutions of the General Court of the 5th of May last might be read. (No. XIV. Appendix.)

Mr. Rigby thought the document just read, of such importance as to require the most extensive circulation, and enquired whether, in the discussion with Ministers, they had been given to

understand that a modification, with respect to exporting the produce of this country, would be admitted?—and was answered by

The *Chairman*, that the Charter of 1793 permitted an annual exportation of that sort, to the extent of 3000 tons, which extent had never been taken advantage of, the exports principally consisting of wines, which were not the manufacture of this country—at least he hoped not!—*(A laugh.)*

The motion of thanks and adjournment being seconded and put,

Mr. Hume, in addressing the Chairman, declared it was not his original intention to deliver any opinion on the present subject, but he was induced to depart from that resolution in consequence of the turn which the discussion had taken. —He objected to uniting a vote of thanks to the Directors with the resolution of adjournment—he had not entirely made up his mind whether they deserved praise or censure. From many observations which had been made, it appeared as if the question was not a relation to the outports being admitted to a share of the import trade; that question seemed to him to have been entirely departed from. The language of Ministers was this—you must concede whatever we think necessary, or your Charter will not be renewed. It had been stated in the House of Commons

by the late Mr. Perceval, that certain preliminaries had been agreed upon between the Government and the Company. The Court of Directors had called upon Ministers for their decided answer—an answer had been returned which he certainly could not disapprove. The true question is this,—will the Company consent to the trade being thrown open? in that case Government, it is supposed, will not interfere in the interior administration of India. Ought the port of London, in this general state of commercial privation, to enjoy privileges which no other port possessed? The Company's right to a trade in India was founded on a statute of Parliament, by which the duration of the right was limited. On this point, the Ministers he thought had given the Directors a proper rub. Without concurring with all his positions, he admired the eloquence of the gentleman who spoke last (Mr. R. Grant), and hoped to be gratified with many more of his speeches. He was sensible that he himself had wandered from the subject *(hear, hear)*, which was not much a matter of surprise, as it seemed generally to have been lost sight of—he was of opinion as the discussion was to be adjourned, so might the vote of thanks.—*Here were loud cries of Question, Question, when the Chairman requested, that as much praise had been so handsomely bestowed on the Directors, it*

was but fair to hear what might be alledged against them; it was true policy to hear both sides of a question—when

Mr. Hume resumed—by asking whether the trade to Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, had afforded sufficient means for paying their dividends? Was it proper, was it prudent then to quarrel with Ministers about a trade which he was prepared to prove had for the last fifteen years produced nothing or next to nothing? He was not prepared so say whether the Directors deserved praise or not; he wished for time to consider that point, and might perhaps at their next meeting, be equally disposed with any other gentleman to support a vote of thanks; and with respect to other points introduced into the present discussion, his opinion was, they should be reserved for the consideration of Parliament and the Ministers.

Mr. Grant (a Director) said he did not rise to contend for the vote of approbation that had been proposed. He had no wish (and he was sure the gentleman behind the bar had no wish) to carry the Proprietors, in this respect, further than their own spontaneous judgment should incline them to go. But though it had not been his intention, nor he believed the intention of the Directors in general, to offer any opinions to the Proprietors on that day, the speech of the

honourable gentleman who had just sat down (Mr. Hume), called for some observation. The honourable gentleman had assumed that the question before the Proprietors was, whether they should agree to the proposition of Ministers respecting the outports? Mr. Grant said there was no such question submitted to the Court. The Proprietors had been called together on that day, in order to be made acquainted with the further correspondence which had taken place between His Majesty's Ministers and the Court of Directors, and not to produce any immediate question on the matter of that correspondence, but that the Proprietors, after having had an opportunity of fully considering it, should determine on the time proper to be taken for the consideration of it, and the day on which they should meet again. The only question, in short, before the Court, was the motion recently made for approving the conduct of the Directors. But the honourable gentleman, following his erroneous assumption, had gone on to argue, as if the question respecting the outports were a detached insulated question that might be settled without affecting other great parts of the Indian system. He had supposed indeed, that the object really in dispute, between Government and the Company, was the *Indian Trade*. In both these assumptions the honora-

ble gentleman was mistaken. It was not, the trade with India, as such, for which the Company chiefly contended. That trade it was admitted had been of late years no great object of profit. The Company resisted the importation of Indian commodities to the outports, because they apprehended, with great reason, that the consequence would be the smuggling of tea to a large extent, in violation of the Company's China monopoly. And the loss that would hence ensue, was not to be contemplated merely as commercial loss. The China trade was the source of the profit which enabled the Company to pay their dividend, and on the payment of the dividend depended the subsistence of the Company in a state fit for the performance of the high political functions assigned to them. The admission of the imports from India to the outports of England, therefore, involves the political existence of the Company as administrators of the Indian empire. If the honourable gentleman had perused the printed papers with the least atttention, he would have found that this was the argument of the Company.

The honorable gentleman had also assumed, that the Directors had demanded a categorical answer from His Majesty's Ministers on the grand question. This was another mistake. They had only asked for the informations on which Ministers had been induced to declare in favour

of the outports, and for the whole detail of the plan which they had formed for the government of British India.

In asking for these things they had asked for nothing new. In the settlement of the Charter of 1793, the eminent men who conducted the national affairs at that time, communicated to the Court of Directors not only the details of their own plan, but the demands of British manufacturers and other persons hostile to the privileges of the Company, with the arguments used by those parties. This was what the Directors had now asked. They were told that the discussions between the merchants claiming the right of importing to the outports and His Majesty's Ministers, were carried on *viva voce*; but it might be presumed, that some minutes of conversations so important might have been taken.

The honorable gentleman had thought fit to censure the Court for meddling with the topic of the British constitution, in their correspondence with the King's Ministers. This was a strange accusation. Was not every subject of this free country interested in the constitution, and entitled to contend for the care of it in all public measures? Were not the Company, and the whole nation, deeply concerned in maintaining

the Constitution in its vigour and purity? And the Directors, as acting for the Company, and as free men, having a stake in the country, were fully warranted to express their solicitude on the subject, when it was so evidently and greatly concerned.

Mr. Grant added, that before he sat down, he wished to say a word on the present state of the negociation. His Majesty's Ministers had declared a wish to discuss, in the most full, free, and candid manner, all depending points. The Court of Directors had, on their part, amply stated their reasons for every position they advanced; but he must take leave to say, the Board of Commissioners had not answered those arguments—instead of returning arguments, they had given only decisions. But if any one thing was now essential, it was a clear and thorough understanding between the parties:—this was proper for the sake of the public, and due to the Proprietors of India stock, whose all was at stake. This was what the Directors all along aimed at; what they still wished; and following up the subject with a spirit of conciliation, it would be no fault of their's, if the desired information were not obtained, and every thing satisfactorily adjusted at last. *(Applause.)*

Mr. Weyland was desirous that the adjournment should be only for a week—The question

turned on this point, whether the regulations proposed by Government would benefit the population of India and Great Britain?—The greater delay in their exertions, he considered the greater danger would accrue. In political controversy, prudence should sometimes take the precedence of generosity. On this principle, therefore, he should wish the last letter of Lord Buckinghamshire to be the last ministerial document on their table, as it was certainly the weakest—it was not the letter of a statesman—it was, when analized, absolute nonsense. He wished an adjournment for one week, and confidently trusted that they would zealously exert themselves, individually and collectively, to frustrate all invasion upon their chartered rights.

After various observations as to fixing the day of adjournment,

The *Chairman* stated, that although the Directors were desirous of meeting the wishes of the Proprietors in every respect, he considered, that as various meetings of ship owners, ship builders, merchants, and others deeply concerned in the present question, were to be held in the course of next week, the original day for adjournment would be the most convenient and advisable.——He informed the Proprietors, that Ministers had been applied to, for the reasons which had induced them to depart from those

rooted plans they had formerly adopted themselves. That great statesman, the late Lord Melville, was decidedly of opinion, that every article of India trade should be lodged in the warehouses of the Company, and sold in that room. (No. XII, Appendix.)—On this point he had the entire and unequivocal concurrence of his illustrious colleague, Mr. Pitt. That their goods should be brought into the port of London, was a fundamental article in the political and commercial creed of the East-India Company. *(Hear! hear! hear!)*—It seems strange, indeed, for any man to say that he is not concerned in supporting his own rights—what can be meant by Ministers having given the Directors a *proper rub?* What! is not an Englishman to maintain his own rights? Is he not to speak his opinion honestly and frankly in his own cause? This is the birthright of an Englishman, and God forbid it should ever be wrested from him—it was a right he would give up to no Ministers. The Court of Directors had asked them, the reasons of changing their former sentiments and resolutions? they (the Proprietors) perhaps might be persuaded or convinced by them. It should be distinctly understood, that the Directors are not desirous of restraining the exports to the port of London, but of confining the imports to it, as a measure of vital consequence to the very existence

of the Company. The profits upon the trade certainly had been lessened, but this was owing to captures and shipwreck:—but, will the out-ports be more exempt from such disasters than the Company? The profits must naturally fluctuate upon all commercial undertakings. (The Chairman here alluded to an opinion given by Lord Castlereagh in the House of Commons on a former occasion, No. XIII. Appendix.) The Court of Directors were not anxious for a vote of thanks, but to deserve one. He had the highest opinion of His Majesty's Ministers as individuals; but this should not induce him to sacrifice to them one iota of his duty or of the Company's rights.

Mr. Alderman Atkins could wish to hear how the honorable gentleman (Mr. Hume) would answer the arguments of the Chairman; he was convinced that they were not to be answered. If the question was that of opposing the interests of the Company to those of the Country, there was not a single Proprietor that would hesitate between the duty and the sacrifice—there was no such collision of interests— the question was, whether the interests of the Company should be sacrificed, not to those of the Country but to popular mistake, to the delusion of experiment, to the cravings of speculation. One establishment for the protection of the trade and shipping alone for the port of London, had cost ha

million of money; millions had been expended upon others—more than 30,000 persons were employed in these establishments—if the exclusive trade is done away, these must all be driven from their wonted habits of industry, to seek, as they best could, a precarious subsistence—"You take away their life if you do take away the means whereby they live." It cannot be forgotten too, that the Company had furnished Government with 20,000 tons of shipping, amounting to fourteen sail, to whose assistance in a great measure the splendid victory over the Dutch at Camperdown may be attributed.—Could Government look to divided interests, scattered property, and unequal shipping, for so desirable an aid in future emergencies? It was much to be lamented that any shade of difference should exist on the question of adjournment, and on that account he could wish it were separated from the motion of thanks.

Mr. Hume (in explanation) considered his opinion had been so guardedly expressed, as not to be thought imputing blame to the Directors. If any loss should be sustained by the measures of Government, they are bound to give ample remuneration.

After a few words the motion of Thanks was united to that of Adjournment, *with one dissentient voice, that of Mr. Hume.*

APPENDIX.

No. I.

At a Secret Committee of Correspondence, the 27th November, 1812.

The Chairman reported to the Committee, that he and the Deputy Chairman had this morning a conference with the President of the Board of Commissioners, on the subject of the Renewal of the Company's Charter, at which his Lordship declared it to be the intention of His Majesty's Ministers, not to abandon the proposition they had made, for allowing a direct trade between India and the outports of the United Kingdom; but that the proposition might be modified, by confining the ports to which ships shall be allowed to import goods from India, to a number less than that to which the Warehousing Act now extends. Lord Buckinghamshire, however, was desirous, before resuming the correspondence relating to it, that the Committee of Correspondence should hold a conference with Lord Liverpool and himself upon the subject.

The Chairman further stated, that, in reply to Lord Buckinghamshire, the Deputy Chairman and himself declined making any observation at present, but stated their intention to communicate the substance of his Lordship's remarks to the Committee of Correspondence, and also expressed their wish, that the Committee might have the honour of waiting upon his Lordship, previously to the proposed conference with Lord Liverpool, to which Lord Buckinghamshire consented.

The Committee, in consequence, resolved to assemble at eleven o'clock on Tuesday next, for the purpose of deliberating upon the subject of the above communication, previously to waiting upon Lord Buckinghamshire, at the hour of two on that day.

No. II.

Letter from the Chairman and Deputy Chairman to the Right Honorable the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

East-India House, 28th November, 1812.

My Lord,

We have the honor to acquaint your Lordship, that we have communicated to a Secret Committee of Correspondence the substance of the conversation which we had yesterday the honour of holding with your Lordship, Mr. Wallace, and Mr. Sullivan, and in which it was notified to us, that the opinion of His Majesty's Government remains unaltered, regarding the expediency of not confining the import trade from the East-Indies to the port of London.

The Committee received this communication with the deepest concern and regret, its Members unanimously concurring with us in opinion, that should the proposed extension of the trade, even to a small number of the outports of the kingdom, be sanctioned by the Legislature, the measure will be highly prejudicial to the public revenue, injurious to the East-India Company, and detrimental to the prosperity of the merchants, manufacturers, traders, and other numerous bodies interested in the commerce with India, as now carried on through the channel of the river Thames. The Committee being still desirous of an opportunity of renewing their representations to your Lordship upon this important question, before any communication is made to the Court on the subject, have directed us to request the honor of a conference with your Lordship for that purpose.' Should it be perfectly convenient to your Lordship to receive the Deputation on Tuesday next, at two o'clock, we shall be able to lay the result of the conference before the Court on the following day.

We have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servants,

(Signed) Hugh Inglis,

Robert Thornton.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Buckinghamshire,
&c. &c. &c.

No. III.

Letter from the Right Honorable the Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Chairman.

SIR, *India Board*, 28*th November*, 1812.

I had the honor of receiving your letter of this day, proposing that the Secret Committee of Correspondence should wait upon me at this Board on Tuesday next.

I shall be happy to have the honor of seeing them; but as I am desirous that Lord Liverpool, and other Members of the Board, should be present at the interview, and as I find that twelve o'clock will be more convenient to them than two, you will, I hope, have no objection to make the appointment for the former hour.

I have the honor to be

Your most obedient and faithful humble servant,

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Sir Hugh Inglis, Bart.
&c. &c. &c.

No. IV.

At a Secret Court of Directors, held on Wednesday, the 2d December 1812.

The Chairman acquainted the Court, that a meeting took place yesterday, at the Board, between several of His Majesty's Ministers and the Committee of Correspondence, upon the subject of the renewal of the Company's exclusive privileges, when it was agreed, that no minutes should be then taken, in order to afford the most unreserved mode of carrying on the discussion; at the conclusion of which it was understood, that His Majesty's Ministers would communicate, in writing, their sentiments upon the whole of the subject.

No. V.

At a Secret Court of Directors, held on Tuesday, the 15th December 1812.

Minutes of the 2d instant were read and approved.

The Chairman stated, that two conferences between His Majesty's Ministers and the Committee of Correspondence had taken place since the 2d instant, *viz.* on the 5th and 12th instant, but that he had nothing further to communicate to the Court in consequence.

No. VI.

At a Secret Court of Directors, held on Wednesday, the 16th December 1812.

The Court adverting to the statement which the Chairman had, with their approbation, made to the General Court to-day, as to the late conferences with His Majesty's Ministers, upon the subject of renewing the Company's exclusive privileges, and this Court deeming it a proper mark of respect to His Majesty's Ministers, that they should be apprized of the same as early as possible,

The Chairman and Deputy Chairman were requested to wait on the President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India to-morrow, to communicate to his Lordship what had passed in the General Court this day, and to state to his Lordship, that the Court of Directors continue decidedly to entertain the opinion which they have formerly expressed to His Majesty's Ministers, as to the ruinous consequences of admitting the imports from India to the outports of this kingdom.

No. VII.

At a Secret Court of Directors, held on Friday, the 18th December 1812.

The Court having resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole Court,

And being resumed, the following report from the Committee of the Whole Court was read:

" The Committee taking into consideration the pre-
" sent state of the negociation with His Majesty's Mi-
" nisters for the renewal of the Company's exclusive
" privileges, deem it to be highly important, that the
" sentiment of the Court of Directors, upon the pro-
" position brought forward for admitting the imports
" from India to the outports of this kingdom, should
" be unequivocally known."

" The Committee therefore recommend to the Court
" to pass a resolution, stating that the proposition in
" question is, for various reasons already set forth in
" the Court's writings, pregnant with ruin to the af-
" fairs of the Company, inasmuch as it would render
" them incapable of performing the functions allotted
" to them, as well in their commercial as in their
" political capacity, and that the Court cannot there-
" fore, consistently with their duty to their Consti-
" tuents, recommend to them the adoption of such a
" proposition."

And it was, on the question,

Resolved Unanimously, That this Court approve the said report.

And the Chairman and Deputy Chairman were requested to wait on the Right Honorable the President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, and to communicate to His Lordship the above proceedings of this day.

No. VIII.

At a Secret Court of Directors, held on Tuesday, the 22d December 1812.

The Chairman acquainted the Court, that in obedience to their resolution of the 18th instant, the Deputy and himself, on Saturday last, waited on the Right Honorable the President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, with a copy of the minutes of the Secret Court of the 18th instant.

No. IX.

Letter from the Right Honorable the Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East-India Company.

GENTLEMEN, *India Board, 24th Dec.* 1812.

The conferences held at this Board with the Committee of Correspondence, having had for their object the most unreserved and candid discussions upon points of the greatest importance, with respect to the renewal of the East-India Company's Charter, and it having been understood that no further steps should be taken upon the subject, until a communication was made by me, in an official shape, to the Court of Directors, it was not without some surprize that the copy of their resolution of the 18th instant was received by His Majesty's Government, because that resolution, adopted under such circumstances, appear to them to have for its object an abrupt termination to all discussion.

They cannot, however, consider it the less incumbent upon them, through you, as the proper official channel, to bring before the Court of Directors the principle upon which the opinions I have to apprize you of have been formed, in order to present to the Proprietors and the Public a correct view of a subject to which so much importance is attached.

I shall, therefore, convey to you the sentiments of His Majesty's Government, precisely in the terms I should have done, if no intimation had been made of the resolution of the Court of Directors of the 18th instant; and with that object I proceed to inform you, that with regard to those points, to which the attention of the Committee of Correspondence has been chiefly directed at the conferences held at this Board, the principle uniformly maintained, as the basis of any arrangement for the renewal of the East-India Company's Charter, *viz.* that the merchants of this country have as substantial claim to as much liberty of trade as they can enjoy, without injury to other important national interests, cannot be departed from.

It was in the hope that the opening of the export trade with India to the merchants of the city of London and of the outports, whilst the import was confined to the port of London, might not be found inconsistent with this principle, that a disposition was felt by the Government to propose an arrangement to that effect.

In consequence, however, of the promulgation of such an intention, several persons, interested in the commerce of the outports, represented in the strongest terms, that the proposed limitation of the import trade from India, rendered the extension of no value to them; and they declared themselves prepared to maintain, that this limitation was not called for by any adequate motive of public interest.

They urged their claim to an equal participation in the general trade to India, and their conviction, that the ground upon which the exclusion in favour of the port of London was defended, *viz.* the additional danger of smuggling, could not be supported, and they were satisfied that the alleged danger might be obviated by revenue regulations. They also entered largely into the subject of the China trade, contending strenuously against the renewal of the Company's exclusive Charter; and stated their reasons for believing, that measures might be adopted by which that trade could be opened, without injury to the revenue, and without hazarding the continuance of the intercourse with the Emperor of China's dominions.

The importance attached to these representations, induced His Majesty's Government to revise the arrangement which had been in contemplation; and although they did not see cause, under all the circumstances bearing upon this question, to alter the opinion they had entertained, of the propriety of continuing the existing restrictions upon the commercial intercourse with China, and of preserving to the Company the monopoly of the tea trade, they nevertheless felt, that the merchants belonging to the outports had established a claim against an absolute restriction of the import trade to the port of London.

Under this impression, I addressed my letter to you on the 27th of April ultimo.

The observations made by the Committee of Correspondence, in their reply of the 29th of the same month, did not fail to engage the serious attention of His Majesty's Government, but after the best examination of those observations, aided by all the information they have obtained from the Boards of Customs and Excise, they are not enabled to concur in the opinion, that the proposed extension of the import trade from India would be productive of any great increase of smuggling, and certainly not to the extent stated by the Court of Directors.

It is conceived, that the apprehensions entertained on this account might be obviated by various regulations, such as confining the trade to those ports which are, or may be so circumstanced, as to afford security to the due collection of the revenue; by the limitation of it to vessels of four hundred tons burthen; by attaching the forfeiture of the ship and cargo to the discovery of any illicit articles on board; by an extension of the manifest act; by regulations for checking the practice of smuggling in the ships of the Company; as well as by other provisions, too minute to be entered into at present, but which will, of course, be attended to, in discussing the details of the subject.

I am persuaded it will not escape your observation, that from obvious considerations, the English Channel must, at all times, especially in time of peace, afford facilities and inducements for smuggling, which do not occur elsewhere to the same extent, on account of the clandestine traffic already established, and the ready communication with the opposite shore.

But, with respect to the whole of this part of the question, it is impossible to lose sight of the deep interest which the Government must feel in the prevention of smuggling. The interests of the Company are, no doubt, involved in it; but those of the Government are still more concerned: and it cannot be supposed that they would bring forward any proposition which appeared to them likely to endanger a revenue

of from three to four millions; or that, if a defalcation should unexpectedly arise, they would not immediately take measures for applying a remedy. The Company have, therefore, an ample ground of confidence, not only in the disposition of Government, but in their effectual co-operation on those points, on which the Court of Directors appear to feel the greatest anxiety, and on which they urged their strongest objections to the proposed arrangement.

The several articles which may be imported from the countries within the limits of the Company's Charter, and which are charged with an *ad valorem* duty, although, with the exception of Tea, they bear a very small proportion to the whole of the revenue collected from the trade from India and China, are nevertheless of sufficient importance to demand the attention of Government, as the question may affect the interests of the East-India Company, as well as those of the public revenue.

With this view, it will be necessary to consider whether, with respect to some of them, a rated duty might not be substituted, and whether regulations may not be made for the security of the duty *ad valorem* on those articles which shall continue to be so charged, and which, at the same time, shall prevent their being purchased at a price, likely to operate injuriously to the manufacturers of this country.

The justice of the observations, respecting the additional number of Europeans that would find their way to India in consequence of the extension of the trade, must be admitted to a certain extent; but it is obvious, that this danger would arise from the extension of the export trade to India, and would scarcely be lessened by confining the import trade to the Port of London. Every individual, during his residence in India, would of course be subject to the existing regulations of the local Governments.

The situation of Lascars, who are occasionally employed in the navigation of ships from India to this country, would demand the humane interposition of the Legislature; and there can be no doubt that effec-

tual provision for their maintenance while in England, and for their return to India, will be made.

Having gone through the principal points to which our recent conferences have related, it may be proper for me to apprize you, that His Majesty's Government are of opinion, that the establishment of King's troops, which may be requisite for the preservation of the peace and security of the British possessions in India, must depend upon circumstances that it would be difficult to anticipate; but as the financial situation of the Company may render it necessary that the numbers to be maintained at their charge should be limited, there can be no objection to propose to Parliament, to specify that number by legislative enactment.

I have thus endeavoured to bring the sentiments of His Majesty's Government before you, with the same candor that has been evinced in our recent discussions; and I can venture confidently to assure you, that my colleagues, as well as myself, are most anxious to promote such an adjustment between the Public and the Court of Proprietors, as may be satisfactory to all parties.

The expediency of adhering to that system, by which the Government of India has been administered through the intervention of the Company, is strongly felt by His Majesty's Government; but it must not be supposed, that there are no limits to that expediency, or that there are no advantages which might result from a different course.

It is for the Court of Proprietors to decide, whether their own interests, as well as those of the numerous persons depending upon them, both at home and abroad, can best be preserved by their rejection of, or acquiescence in, those conditions, upon which alone, consistent with their public duty, His Majesty's Government can submit a proposition to Parliament for the renewal of the Charter.

You, Gentlemen, must be aware, that from its approaching expiration, provision must be made, without delay, for the future government of India; and that His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in his speech

at the opening of the present session, has called upon Parliament to make such provision,

I have the honor to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and faithful humble servant,

(Signed) BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

The Chairman and Deputy Chairman
of the Court of Directors.

No. X.

Letter from the Chairman and Deputy Chairman to the Right Honourable the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

East-India House, 30*th December* 1812.

MY LORD,

WE were honoured, on the 25th instant, with the letter which your Lordship was pleased to address to us on the preceding day, and have laid it before the Court of Directors. We are instructed by the Court to acquaint your Lordship that a General Court of Proprietors of East-India Stock has been summoned, for the special purpose of taking into consideration the important subjects treated of in your Lordship's letter, and we shall lose no time in submitting to your Lordship the result of the deliberations at that meeting.

In reference to the first paragraph of your Lordship's letter, in which the resolution passed by the Court, on the 18th instant, is stated to have caused some surprise to His Majesty's Government, as appearing to have for its object an abrupt termination to all discussion, we are desired by the Court of Directors respectfully to offer the following explanation.

Your Lordship is aware, that at the commencement of the recent conferences on the subject of the Renewal of the Company's Charter, it was agreed between your Lordship and the Deputation from the Court, that no minutes should be taken of what passed in conversation.

Accordingly, no particular communication was made, prior to the receipt of your Lordship's letter of the 24th instant, of the result of these conferences: but an earnest desire having been expressed by those Gentlemen in the Direction who are not Members of the Committee of Correspondence, to be informed, whether the differences of opinion, formerly known to exist, on some important points, between His Majesty's Government and the Court, were in a train of reconciliation, and the general answer which we thought ourselves bound in duty to give, not having tended to afford them the satisfaction they expected, they deemed it proper that the sense of the Court, respecting the question of the outports, should be formally notified to your Lordship, and in consequence the unanimous resolution of the 18th was transmitted. Had the Court perceived that that proceeding admitted of the interpretation which has been put upon it by His Majesty's Government, they would assuredly have taken pains more effectually to guard against so great a misconception of the real intention, which was no other than to mark their adherence to the opinions they have uniformly entertained on the disputed question, of extending the import trade from India to the outports of this kingdom, which had formed the principal subject of discussion between the Members of His Majesty's Government and the Committee of Correspondence. It was certainly desirable for the Members of that deputed Committee, and it was thought that it might not be unacceptable to your Lordship, to know that the sentiments which they had expressed in the course of discussion, were sanctioned by the unanimous concurrence of the Body by whom they were delegated. The mode in which the resolution was adopted was conformable to the usage of the Court of Directors on solemn occasions, namely, after a report from a Committee of the whole Court, which always requires signatures, and which, in the present instance, was subscribed by every Director.

We trust, my Lord, that this explanation of the measure alluded to, will prove satisfactory to your Lordship and the other members of His Majesty's Go-

vernment; and while we return our sincere acknowledgements for the attention with which our representations have been listened to, in the various interviews with which we have been honored by your Lordship and His Majesty's Ministers who attended, we hope, at the same time, to stand perfectly acquitted of any design, either to prevent or embarrass a full and deliberate discussion of the great interests at stake.

It is a matter of deep concern to us to find, that His Majesty's Ministers seem still to adhere to the principle of opening the outports of the United Kingdom to the importation of commodities from India. We have already, in our letters of the 15th and 29th April last, fully stated the dangers that must result to the Company, from so great an enlargement of the privilege in Eastern commerce to British merchants. We presume to think our objections to that enlargement have not been adequately answered; and we have to express the concern felt by the Court, that no communication has yet been made to them, of those representations which first led His Majesty's Ministers to entertain, and which induce them still to adhere to the opinion, that the public interest will be best consulted, by not confining the import trade from the East-Indies to the port of London. It would occasion much satisfaction to the Court, should such a communication have the effect of obviating their objections, even in part, to a measure, which the most imperative considerations alone could have influenced them to oppose: and were it unfortunately to fail in producing this effect, it is nevertheless desirable, that the Court of Directors shall have an opportunity of reviewing the question with all the intelligence that can be brought to bear upon it. Your Lordship has, indeed, been pleased to favor us with a brief summary of some of the arguments used by the merchants on this subject,—arguments, we must own, not in the least convincing to us: and we assure ourselves, that in adverting to them, your Lordship does not mean that the Company should be concluded, or their fate determined, by what those who oppose their interests choose

to advance: although their representations appear to have so far influenced His Majesty's Ministers, as to lead them to think, that the merchants "have a claim "to as much liberty of trade as they can enjoy, with- "out injury to other important national interests." In those interests, we may presume, are comprehended both the consideration of the public revenue, and the maintenance of the East-India Company. But what that extent of trade is, "which can be granted with safety to those interests," is still a question undetermined. We confess that the regulations contemplated by His Majesty's Ministers, so far as your Lordship has been pleased to explain them to us, appear by no means calculated to remove our fears. The comparative interest which the Public and the Company have in preventing the smuggling of Tea, was described in our letter of the 29th April; and though it be true, as your Lordship observes, that the stake of the Public in this concern is numerically greater than that of the Company, yet the importance of the Company's inferior stake is, to them, infinitely greater, than would be to the Public the importance of the loss the revenue might sustain; because, as matters now stand, the Company have no certain dependance but the China trade, for resources essential to their subsistence. We do not the least question, that His Majesty's Ministers would be thoroughly disposed to frame additional regulations to prevent smuggling Tea, should those now in contemplation be tried, and be found insufficient. But besides that we extremely distrust the practicability of preventing smuggling to a large extent, where the *temptations* would be so great, we must entreat your Lordship and His Majesty's Ministers seriously to consider, what would be the situation of the Company, if they obtained a charter upon no better terms than those now proposed, and upon trial it should be found that their commercial income failed, and that their dividend should be unprovided for or lowered:—their stock would immediately fall; their credit would be diminished; the currency of their affairs, in their payments particularly, would be impeded: general alarm and dissatisfac-

tion in all parties connected with this great establishment would be felt: and there would be a necessity for going to Parliament again, when evils great, perhaps irretrievable, would have been experienced. It is the duty of the Executive Body of the Company to carry their views forward to such contingencies, and to seek provision against them: and we must beg leave to add, that whatever rights the merchants may claim, or the nation be pleased to bestow on them, it cannot be equitable to make concessions to them which should destroy the Company, who acquired the Indian empire, and who are as much the owners of the chief seats of European trade in that empire, as they are of their freeholds in London.

With respect to the resort of Europeans to India, if we do not misunderstand the scope of your Lordship's observation, it seems to imply, that their numbers might be in proportion to the export trade from this country. If, indeed, they were to be regulated by this scale, our apprehensions would be the less; but we have no difficulty in acknowledging, that in addition to all our other arguments against admitting importations to the outports, we think that the granting of this privilege would increase the spirit of rash speculation from Great Britain and Ireland, and thereby the number of adventurers in search of fortune in India; for it is to be remembered, that those adventurers would naturally seek for new establishments, even out of the Company's territories, and there endeavour to acquire real property.

But, my Lord, this is only one of many points which require particular regulations; and, at the stage at which we are now arrived in the negociation, we cannot but state to your Lordship, the anxious wish of the Court to be made acquainted with the whole plan which His Majesty's Government may have it in contemplation to recommend to Parliament for a Renewal of the East-India Company's Charter: including such amendments in the system of the Company's territorial government and administration, as past experience

may have indicated; the regulations deemed necessary for promoting the discipline and efficiency of the Indian Army; the amount of force which His Majesty may be empowered to maintain in India at the expense of the Company; and the provisions that may be thought requisite for settling the relative powers of the Board of Commissioners and the Court of Directors. Though these topics were specifically mentioned in the letters from Lord Melville to the Chairs, of the 30th September 1808 and the 21st March 1812, the Court are still, in great measure, uninformed of the arrangements, in regard to them, which His Majesty's Government may have in view to propose. And we entreat, also, that your Lordship will enable us to lay before the Court of Directors, and ultimately the Proprietors, in any shape that you may judge fit, the information, additional to that of the merchants already solicited, on which the determination of His Majesty's Ministers rests, as to the extension of the trade to the outports, and their intentions upon the other parts of the arrangement to which we have now adverted.

The requests we now make appear to us the more reasonable, from the weighty intimation conveyed in the concluding part of your Lordship's letter. It brings into view (to repeat an expression used in our letter of the 15th April), "*questions of the last importance to the safety of the British Empire in India,* "*and of the British Constitution at Home.*" This is a solemn subject for the Country, as well as the Company. If, indeed, it should ever come under actual discussion, we have that confidence in the equity and wisdom of the Nation, that notwithstanding all present clamours, they will wish to do the Company justice, and to guard all the other great interests which must come into question. But prepared as we shall be, if forced into this situation, to maintain the rights and claims of our Constituents, we must yet express our hope, that the Company will not be reduced to the hard alternative, of thus having to contend for all that is dear to them, or to accept a Charter on terms

which will not enable them to execute the part hitherto assigned to them in the Indian system.

We have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servants,

(Signed) Hugh Inglis,
Robert Thornton.

The Right Honorable the Earl of
Buckinghamshire, &c. &c. &c.

No. XI.

Letter from the Right Honorable the Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, noticed in the preceding Minute.

India Board, 4th January, 1813.

Gentlemen,

I had the honor to receive your Letter of the 30th ultimo, and proceed to convey to you the sentiments of His Majesty's Government, as far as it would seem advisable, under present circumstances, to continue the discussion.

With respect to your observation, that the representations which induced His Majesty's Government to form their opinions upon the subject of the extension of the Import Trade, have been withheld from the Court of Directors, and that your objections to that extension have not been "adequately answered," you must allow me to avail myself of this occasion to apprize you, that although His Majesty's Government have shewn a strong disposition to enter into the most frank and unreserved explanations with the Court of Directors, they have not felt that it was within the range of their duty to engage in a controversy upon the points at issue. That duty has been sufficiently discharged, in stating, for the information of the Court of Proprietors, the conditions upon which they were prepared to

submit a proposition to Parliament for the renewal of the Charter, accompanied by such reasons as are conveyed in the communications they have authorized me to make.

I can, however, have no difficulty in acquainting you, that the claims of the Merchants connected with the outports have not been brought before Government by written documents; that they have been urged and discussed at personal conferences with individuals, interested in their success; and that you have already been informed of the grounds upon which they were supported; but that it does not appear to His Majesty's Government, that you can be warranted in expecting that they should give a more particular account of the arguments adduced at those conferences.

I may add, however, that as the merchants and manufacturers connected with the outports, considering themselves entitled, at the expiration of the Charter of the East-India Company, to carry on that trade, from which they had been excluded for a limited time, had entered into a statement of their case, by petitions presented to Parliament in the course of the last session, you may obtain from those records that further information which you appear desirous to possess.

With regard to those points to which you have alluded, as requiring particular regulation, the Ministers of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent having signified to you, that consistently with their sense of public duty, they can submit no arrangement to Parliament, that does not include an extension of the import trade, and the Court of Directors having, with a knowledge of their opinions upon that point, by their resolution of the 18th ultimo, declined to recommend to the Court of Proprietors to agree to such an extension, it would seem premature to enter into details, until that question shall have been finally determined.

You are apprised of the disposition of His Majesty's Government to adhere to the present system of administration in India, and I am not aware that, if circumstances should admit of its continuance, it

would be necessary to propose any material alteration in the existing provisions for carrying it into execution, except such as may arise from the opening of the trade.

The confidence you express in the wisdom and justice of Parliament will, I am persuaded, not be disappointed; nor is it to be supposed, that in the consideration of this great question (to use your own words) "the safety of the British Empire in India "and the British Constitution at Home" will be overlooked, either by the Legislature or the Ministers of the Crown.

If the Government of India cannot be carried on with safety to the Constitution, except through the intervention of the Company, the propositions of the Court of Directors, whatever they may be, must unconditionally be admitted.

It will be for Parliament to determine, whether the Nation is, in this respect, without an alternative; or whether, if a change of system should be rendered necessary by the decision of the East-India Company, measures might not be taken for opening the trade, and at the same time providing such an administration of the Government of India, as might be found compatible with the interests and security of the British Constitution.

I have the honor to be,

Gentlemen,

Your obedient and faithful humble Servant,

(Signed) BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

The Chairman and Deputy Chairman
of the East-India Company.

No. XII.

Extract of a Letter from Lord Melville to the Chairman, dated 2d April, 1800.

In the first place, I set out with disclaiming being a party to those opinions, which rest upon *any*

general attack of the monopoly of the East-India Company, either as to the *government* or *commerce* of India. My sentiments, in that respect, remain exactly the same as they were when I moved the renewal of the Charter, in 1793; and, if any thing, I am still more confirmed in the principles I brought forward at that time. That a direct interference by Government in the affairs of India is necessary for their stability and uniformity, I am more and more convinced; but that the ostensible form of government, with all its consequent extent and detail of patronage, must remain as it now is, I am persuaded will never be called in question by any, but those who may be disposed to sacrifice the freedom and security of our Constitution, to their own personal aggrandizement and ill-directed ambition; I remain equally satisfied, as to the propriety of *continuing a monopoly of the trade in the hands of the East-India Company*. Those who maintain the reverse, appear to me to be misled by general theories, without attending to the peculiar circumstances of the trade they are treating of. Viewing it, EVEN as a mere COMMERCIAL question, I believe this proposition to be a sound one; and if the trade were laid open, the supposed advantages thence arising are, AT BEST, very problematical, and would certainly be very precarious and short-lived. It is, however, totally to forget the question, to treat it as a mere commercial one. The same principles which prove the necessity of the present form and mode of Indian government, evince the necessity of the monopoly of trade. The Government and the trade are interwoven together, and we have only to recur to a very recent experience, to learn the immense advantages which have flowed from that connection of Government and trade. By the commercial capital of the Company at home, acting in connection with the public revenues under their administration abroad, they have mutually aided and administred to the wants of each other, and the result has been, the fortunate achievement of those brilliant events, upon the success of which depended the existence of the Government, the territorial wealth, and the trade of India.

Extract of a Letter from Lord Melville to the Chairman, dated 21*st March* 1801.

I am prepared explicitly to declare, that although the first formation of an East-India Company proceeded upon purely commercial considerations, the magnitude and importance to which the East-India Company has progressively advanced, is now so interwoven with the political interests of the Empire, as to create upon my mind a firm conviction, that the maintenance of the monopoly of the East-India Company IS EVEN MORE IMPORTANT TO THE POLITICAL INTERESTS of the State, than it is to the COMMERCIAL INTERESTS of the Company.

No. XIII.

Lord Castlereagh's Opinion expressed in the Debate in the House of Commons on the East-India Budget, 18*th July* 1806.

It seemed, however, unjust to describe the Company's commerce as carried on at a loss. To what precise extent it might be profitable, after providing a liberal dividend to the proprietors, might be a matter of more difficult calculation, and must, like all commercial results, be in its nature fluctuating; but, in reasoning upon this branch of the Company's affairs, the worthy alderman (Mr. Prinsep) must establish several preliminary facts, before he can expect to persuade Parliament that the commercial existence of the Company is to be considered merely on grounds of mercantile profit. He must be prepared to shew that individuals would be as likely to carry on steadily the commerce of India, under all the fluctuations to which such a trade is liable, where the outgoings are great, and the returns distant, as a great trading corporation. He must be prepared to dispel the apprehensions which must be entertained with respect to the injurious influence on the prosperity of India, which may be the consequence of an unsteady and unequal demand for their produce, before he can expect

to satisfy Parliament that an intercourse, perfectly unrestrained, is preferable to that qualified intercourse, partly free and partly restricted, which now prevails. If he assumes, that individuals by using an inferior description of tonnage, could carry on the trade at less expense, and consequently at greater profit, he must be prepared to shew, that this is not merely by throwing the difference of the expense on the public, by rendering numerous and expensive convoys requisite to protect their feeble vessels in time of war, whilst the Company's ships, with a comparatively slight aid from our navy, are competent to protect each other, and to set the enemy's ships of war, even when in considerable force, at defiance. He must be prepared to shew, that such an establishment as that of the Company, could be kept up without the protection of a qualified monopoly; or that such a system is in itself unnecessary to the political existence of the Company, and the management of large territorial revenues, when both in peace and in war funds must be transferred through the medium of commerce from India to Europe and from Europe to India. He must also shew, before he can establish that the interest of the manufacturer at home is interested in such a change, that individual speculators would be disposed to send out British manufactures, even at some loss, as the Company have frequently done, or that there is any other limit to the amount of this description of Export, on the part of the Company, than the utmost quantity the Indian market can take off, which they have not hitherto been able, with their most strenuous efforts and some sacrifices, to carry beyond 2,000,000 a year. These, and many other important doubts must be solved, before any satisfactory or sound conclusion can be come to, on the great practical question (Private Trade), to which the worthy alderman, somewhat out of time, had been solicitous to point the attention of the Committee.

No. XIV.

At a General Court of the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East-Indies, held on Tuesday, the 5th May, 1812.

Resolved unanimously, That this Court has learnt with deep concern and surprise, that His Majesty's Ministers have been induced to change the view they first entertained of the propriety of confining to the Port of London the returns of the trade to India, now to be permitted to all British subjects. That the measure of opening the Outports to vessels of all descriptions from India, comprehending in that term the Eastern Islands, appears to this Court to be fraught with consequences ruinous to the Company, and all the long train of interests connected with it; by removing from the port of London the greater part of the Indian trade, which it has hitherto enjoyed; by rendering useless many of the expensive establishments formed there for the merchandize and shipping of that trade, and throwing out of bread many thousands of persons who now derive constant employment from it; by deranging the practice and frustrating the end of stated public sales, which are useful and important, both to the Country and the Company, who are necessarily restricted to this practice; but, above all, by affording facilities for the smuggling of teas into the ports and harbours of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to an extent unlimited, and as this Court apprehend, uncontroulable. That the consequences of this must be, the destruction of the Company's China trade, their best source of commercial profit; the failure of their dividend, the depreciation of their stock; and, unless a fund is provided from some other source for the payment of the dividend, inability on their part to continue to perform the functions assigned to them in the Government of British India. That if the constitution by which the Indian Empire is now administered should thus be subverted, the excellent system of civil and military service formed under the Company, and maintainable only by such a body, will be broken down;

the tranquillity and happiness of the vast population which that empire contains, the interests of this country in Asia, and its constitution at home, will be imminently endangered.

That the professed object for which the proposed changes are to be made, and such immense sacrifices hazarded, namely, the increase of the commerce of this kingdom, cannot be in any great degree attained, there being no practicability of extending materially the use of our manufactures among the Indian people, the tonnage allotted by the Company, or afforded by Indian ships in the management of individuals, for such exports, not having been fully occupied. Neither does it appear practicable largely to augment the importation of profitable commodities from thence; of all which the example of the American trade to the East is a proof, British Manufactures, which they could easily have procured, making no part of it, nor their returns exhibiting any new articles of importance. That therefore the trade now enjoyed by the Company and individuals will be the only certain trade to which new adventurers can have recourse. And this will be no addition to the commerce of the Country, but only a transfer from one set of hands to another; so that, old establishments will be subverted, without substituting any thing equally good in their place; and, to all appearance, with great detriment to the nation, particularly in the defalcation of a large part of the duties now collected on tea, to the amount of four millions sterling per annum; for all which defalcation, whether one, or two, or three millions, new taxes must be laid on the people.

That the cause of the Company has been deeply injured by prejudice, ignorance, erroneous assumptions, and of late by extensive combinations, and by unfair representation, canvas, and intimidation: in all which the merits and rights of the Company, the political interests of British India, and of this country as connected with them, have been left out of sight, and the single object of the extension of commerce, an object

too only of speculation, in opposition to past experience, is the governing principle.

This Court however confidently hope, that Parliament will not decide the fate of the Company, on the representations and demands of private interests, but on just and comprehensive views of national policy; and the Court must also believe that His Majesty's Ministers are too enlightened and equitable, finally to adopt any measure calculated to destroy the commercial profits of the Company, and thereby to disable them from performing their political functions. This Court therefore entirely approving, both of the firmness which their Directors have shewn in maintaining the interests of the Company, and of the manner in which they have, in the papers now produced by them, defended those interests, doth recommend it to them, to persevere in the negociation with His Majesty's Ministers, upon the same principles; assured of the determination of this Court to support them to the utmost, in maintaining the permanence of the Company, and the national interests which are involved in their stability.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Court be given to Randle Jackson, Esq. for his very luminous and excellent speech this day; for the great zeal, ability and industry he has on various occasions, and particularly on this, displayed for the honor and advantage of this Company.

Resolved unanimously, That the warmest thanks of this General Court be offered to the Chairman, Deputy Chairman, and Court of Directors of this Company, for their very able conduct in the negociation with Government for the renewal of the Charter; alike evincing the most luminous ideas of the best interests of this Company, and their most honorable conduct in the management of so important a concern.

The Court then on the question adjourned.

THE END.

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DEBATES

HELD ON

The 19th, 22d, and 26th January, 1813,

AT THE SEVERAL

ADJOURNED COURTS

OF

EAST-INDIA PROPRIETORS;

WITH

AN APPENDIX, &c.

BY AN IMPARTIAL REPORTER.

.... "'Tis your ALL,
"To keep your Trade entire, entire the Force
"And Honour of your Fleet."——*Thomson.*

LONDON:
Printed for BLACK, PARRY, and CO. Leadenhall Street;

1813.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

The Reporter of the Preliminary Debate which was held at a Court of Proprietors of East-India Stock, held on the 5th of January, 1813, *pledged himself to continue them with accurate fidelity, and he trusts the pledge is now redeemed. Biassed as he confesses himself to have been, by the eloquence, the arguments, the researches, and the local knowledge so luminously displayed, he has still maintained a strict and an unqualified impartiality. He is sorry, from the physical impossibility of following Mr. Hume with sufficient accuracy through his extended and elaborate calculations, that he is compelled to apologise to that gentleman for some, he trusts, immaterial omissions; but he laments this the less, as the honorable gentleman has already advertised his speech, under his own correction,—by which it will be easily estimated how much attention has been paid to the purport, the argument, and even the language of his speech, and that what little omission there may be, could only arise from the rapidity of debate, and the involution of figures.*

To the other Gentlemen he offers no apology, much as he conceives to be due to them—he hopes they will accept his endeavours to record the splendour of those talents and the anxiety of that zeal which reflect a mutual honour upon each other—and to request that while they look on the lineaments of their minds, as pourtrayed by him in this production, and should think the likeness a faint one, they should remember he can only draw the features, he cannot throw the fire and the spirit of the Speaker upon paper. He can only say with the Abbé Menage, of a beautiful animated lady's picture,' that the portrait could not be like, il est insensible.

An Appendix is added in consequence of various allusions in the Debate.

The Reporter, finding the Speech of Lord Moira to the East-India Directors, at the City of London Tavern, has become a subject of interest, though it does not strictly connect itself with the Debate, has given directions to have it inserted in the Appendix.

Those who are not already possessed of the Preliminary Debate may obtain copies from the various booksellers to combine with the present Publication

J. H.

PROCEEDINGS. &c

TUESDAY, JANUARY 19.

The Minutes of the last Court having been read by the Clerk,

The *Chairman* (Sir *Hugh Inglis*) addressed the Proprietors, informing them,

That this Adjourned Court was held to take into farther consideration the documents which were laid before it on the 5th of this month:—that a more important question was never agitated; important, as it related to the East-India Company, important, to the persons connected with the East-India Company, and of the greatest importance to the nation at large. In the discussion of this question, it required all the wisdom, all the temper, all the moderation, which could be bestowed upon it.—That it was not only the welfare of the Company, not only the welfare of the numerous persons connected with it, which were to be considered; but even the interests of those adventurers themselves, who wish to break in upon the barrier

of a long established trade, so successfully and so honorably carried on by the port of London, both to and from the East-Indies. To such adventurers he could foresee nothing but ruin and disappointment, as the certain, the inevitable result of a compliance with their own wishes; nothing but a sweeping destruction to the East-India Company; which must bear away with its desolating torrent, the commerce and the prosperity of the greatest city in the world. In considering this question in all its points, he urged them to look likewise to the security of the national revenue; for although it might be said, that is the more particular duty of Government to watch over, yet if, by removing from the port of London the exclusive trade to India, the revenue of this country should suffer, in the loss of four millions per annum, how is that defalcation to be made up, except by adverting to what is already so oppressive and exhausted, an addition to the burthens already imposed, or some other intolerable and grievous taxation?—He entreated them to take this subject into their serious consideration; and having maturely deliberated upon it, with the most awful and cautious reflections, that they would deliver their judgments distinctly and firmly, deciding and determining their combined opinions in such a manner, as to

instruct the Directors how they were to act at so momentous a crisis.—While he thus urged them to evince determined firmness, he trusted they would shew their moderation, and manifest an anxious wish to meet Government, if it were possible, without sacrificing, what might be considered their dearest rights, and the welfare of the empire. He concluded with observing, that the gentlemen behind the bar (the Directors) had had no communications whatever with any persons, nor had they seen any thing which could induce them to alter their opinions since the last debate.—(*Hear! hear!*) It had been suggested, that there were points of approximation between the Directors and the Government — "would to God," said he, "we were likely to approximate: I hope we shall. But nothing has happened, that can enable me to state, there is any probability of such an approximation. I have thought it necessary to declare this openly, because it has been reported, out of doors, that some arrangement had been proposed by his Majesty's Ministers. Unhappily there is not the least foundation for such an assertion."

Mr. *Weyland* expressed himself to have been little known to this Court, and that he should not have presumed to step forward at this critical moment, had he not conceived that the great inte-

rests which are implicated in the decision of this question, called on every thinking man, to deliver his opinion; and this consideration he thought would operate, in some degree, as a guarantee for his being attended to, however humble his abilities. Impressed with the magnitude of the subject, he had minutely and deliberately inquired into it; as connected with the questions of policy, humanity, and right; points which must strike every reflecting mind, when the sources by which the establishments of the Company are supported, have been called in question. Though a proprietor of East-India Stock, that consideration was small indeed, when compared with the stake he had in the welfare of the country; and sensible as he was of the very deep interest he had in the general good of the community at large, he trusted that, in taking this view of the subject, he had discarded every feeling of individual benefit, and avoided that bias, of which, not even the best intentioned minds can at all times divest themselves.

He hoped this question would not be treated as a question of party:—he was determined not so to consider it. Indeed, it was of such extent and complexity, that the most honorable minds might differ materially, without the imputation of partiality; and he was sure, the Ministers of this coun-

try, those gentlemen who now exercise the high offices of the state, particularly in that department more immediately connected with the East India affairs, were influenced by the strongest sense of impartiality, and a sincere desire to do their duty fairly and honorably to all parties. Having said this, he could not help thinking it impossible for any person who had deliberately weighed the subject, to avoid seeing, that the question between the petitioners against the Charter and the East-India Company, was supported by statements of so directly opposite a nature, that those who are placed in the situation of umpires were not called on for compromise, but for decision; and though it could not be said that the Rubicon was passed, it could not be denied, that they were on its banks, on the very brink of the stream, and ready to plunge into its waters.

Various Statesmen, Mr. Pitt, Lord Melville, Lord Cornwallis, and others, all of late years, refused to adopt the principles which were now incautiously advanced; and there did not appear, from the documents before the Court, that any imperative circumstances of the present time had occurred, to justify the alteration in the beginning of the present negociation, the details of which were before them. The first proposition made to the Court was—

[*Here the Hon. Proprietor, in consequence of sudden indisposition, was obliged to sit down.*]

After a pause of a few minutes—

Mr. *Davis* rose and observed, that, knowing the value of time, he should occupy the attention of the Court for as short a period as possible. But it appeared to him there was now so great a national question before them, that it called for the opinion and observation of every member.—The question was, whether the export and import trade of India from the port and city of London should be removed, and given to the outports, or whether we should endeavour to keep them where they they now were? In his judgment such a removal would be fraught with the greatest disadvantages to the port of London, while it could not tend to produce any possible benefit to any one of the outports. (*Hear!*)

He should state, as briefly as possible, his reasons for so thinking; and enter into details which, he presumed, could not be overturned. He did not mean to argue from theory:—he had made four voyages to the East-Indies; he had acted both as an East-India agent and as a merchant; and the result of his experience was, a firm conviction, that the throwing open the trade by Government would produce incalculable mischief; because, he had reason to know, that the exports already ex-

ceeded the demand. He had no hesitation in saying that, for many years last past, more goods had been sent to India than could have been consumed, except, indeed, by the climate, which had destroyed a considerable proportion of them. With regard to the profits on these goods, he would appeal to any merchant, whether he had discovered it to be a trade worth carrying on by individuals. No man, he believed, who was acquainted with it, could think it worth his while, under existing circumstances.—Much had been said abroad, about the high price of the freight of our ships, Formerly, he admitted, it was very high; but, speaking of the present day, the Company had gone into the opposite extreme.

The merchants at the outports seem to be of opinion, that the products of the East-Indies may be brought home in a West-Indiaman, a Streightsman, or any other description of vessel: but this opinion was delusive and erroneous, as experience had already discovered. The shipping of Liverpool and Bristol, though adapted to carry sugar and pepper from the West Indies, were not calculated to convey indigo and silks from the East—nor were they at all fitted to double the Cape of Good Hope. This was plain matter of fact, though few private merchants, at present unconnected with the trade, could be acquainted

with it; and, he believed, if Ministers did really know the fact, they would see the fallacy of those petitions which had been laid before them. It was certainly their bounden duty to listen to the statements contained in those petitions; but they ought not to give way to the representations of the ignorant, merely because they are clamorous.

He meant to give no offence by this expression; but conceived that, on this subject, many of the petitioners must necessarily be ignorant:—they had not had the woeful experience of those who had been connected with the trade. To prove the correctness of his statement, he could produce, for their information, the evidence of facts. Lately, in Bengal, a class of persons, captains and officers of East-Indiamen, who procure their freight free of expense, applied to the Governor-General for a drawback on the duties payable there. "We have," said they, "brought in-"vestments here, by which we are considerable "losers." Lord Minto's answer was,—"Gen-"tlemen, I am sorry for your losses, but the "fault is your own; you have speculated, you "have been imprudent, and every man ought to "pay for his imprudence."—This is a case of the present day; he would likewise advert to one which occurred at another place, in the year 1795. The *Rodney*, a ship belonging to the

Company, was consigned to Madras and Bengal. The captain took out goods to the amount of £12,000; one third of which was intended for Madras, and the remaining two-thirds for Bengal. When, however, the ship arrived at Madras, the Government was under an urgent necessity of sending her back to England; in consequence of which, £8,000 worth of goods were unexpectedly thrown upon the Madras market. The store-keepers would not purchase, neither would the merchants; an attempt was then made to retail the investment, but that did not answer. Lord Hobart, now Lord Buckinghamshire, who was then governor, interested himself for the captain, and made him an offer of remitting his money, through the Company's treasury, on the best terms: but he had no money to remit—he had nothing but goods; and these he could not convert into cash. A *lottery* was at length set on foot, as the *dernier resort*: He was at Madras at the time, and spoke from memory; but his firm belief was, that the name of Lord Hobart stood at the head of the list of subscribers to that lottery. On account of some doubts which he entertained of his own recollection, he had applied to the captain himself for his statement of the circumstance, and with the permission of the Court would read

his (the captain's) answer:—"My dear Sir, "I have been endeavouring to recollect the "circumstance of the lottery at Madras; and I "am disposed to believe, that Lord Hobart's "name stood at the head of subscribers." Such was also his own decided belief; and his lordship could not but remember the circumstance. This occurrence tended to shew, that there was an ample supply of goods in the market. The articles in question were purchased, for ready money, from the manufactures at Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield; the regular allowance of £25 per cent. was made, and, consequently, no goods could come more cheaply to market. The want of purchasers, however, proved, that there had been a considerable influx of manufactures to our East-India territories, and that there is no want of a greater supply;—this was the object he wished to impress on their minds.

With regard to the import trade, it appeared to him to be a very considerable object, that the whole should come to one market; it is an inducement to foreign purchasers to deal with one body, and import at one price; whereas, if they purchase cheap at Liverpool and dear at Bristol, they will be unable to establish a fair market on their return home, which must mate-

rially operate against their trade. He was for a safe, and not a speculative trade; and he thought, as a commercial nation, it should be their endeavour to keep trade on a par; for to have a very extensive demand one year, and a very confined demand the next, must be equally hurtful to the manufacturer and to the merchant, examples of which had recently passed before them. He could not help thinking, that if Ministers did know the real state of the case, they would pause before they listened to the petitions of those who are at present so desirous of injuring themselves. Such were his opinions, and such, he thought, must be the opinions of Ministers, when they had properly investigated the subject. But if, after they have received all the necessary information on the question, they should still persist in granting this ideal boon to the country, he, for one, must exclaim—

"Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes."—

Mr. *Weyland* again rose.—He said, he had drawn up a series of resolutions, which, without farther preface, he would submit to the Court. They contained an abstract of those sentiments, on which it was his intention to have expatiated at length.

The Resolutions were then read by the clerk.*

Mr. *Weyland*, in continuance, observed, that these were the Resolutions he had framed, and on which he intended to have enlarged. He could only assure them, they contained the sincere sentiments of his mind, after giving the subject the most deliberate attention; and he was glad they had been received with so many marks of approbation by the Court. He should trouble them no farther, and apologized for the attempt he had before made to address them, which, from various causes, principally an ill state of health, and his not being used to public speaking, he was unable to effect. He should, however, take the hint which had been given him, and in future use his pen, rather than his tongue, in support of that just cause, the cause of the Company. (*Applause.*) He then moved the first Resolution, which, being duly seconded, and the question put from the Chair,—

Mr. *Hume*, in rising, on the present occasion, professed himself to be aware, that he ought to make an apology to the Court. While he saw round him so many persons, whose abilities were so much superior to his own, it might seem arrogant in him to come forward and

* As the Resolutions were afterwards materially compressed, we have given them insertion in their due place, at the conclusion of the Debate.

obtrude his opinions; but he trusted, when his motives were stated, that they would be approved; and that every unfavourable impression would be removed from the minds of gentlemen." It was his wish, that on a subject of so much importance, a subject in which thousands were interested, not only in that Court but in the nation at large; it was his wish, he repeated, and, he hoped, the wish of that assembly, that the discussion should be conducted with all the candour which it demanded. Actuated by this feeling, he obtruded himself on a former occasion; not that he could throw any additional light on the subject, but because he thought the determination of that day was too hasty and precipitate; therefore he stepped forward to recommend calm deliberation. Feeble as his abilities were, he feared that he should not be able to produce any considerable effect on the Court: but his end would be answered, if what he said should have the power of calling the attention of others, more capable of delivering their opinions, to this momentous subject. If nothing worthy of approbation should fall from him, still the country must derive much benefit from the discussion of this question.

He was inclined to take a very different view of the subject from that entertained by

the honorable gentleman who preceded him: he might be right as to insulated facts: sometimes there may be an overplus, sometimes a deficiency of goods in the market. He had pointed out some instances of the former, but he had not mentioned any of the latter description; although it is well known, that £100 and even £150 per cent. has been occasionally made on the invoice accounts: such circumstances sometimes occur, as well as severe losses. These, however, are insulated facts, and therefore, on the general subject, they ought to weigh but little; their object being to take a great and comprehensive view of the question. On a former occasion, he thought that they were merely to take into consideration, whether the import trade was to be extended to the outports; but he was corrected by the Honorable Chairman, who informed him, that the entire interests of the Company, with respect to territorial possession, political arrangements and commercial prospetity, were connected with the decision, which would be founded on that discussion.

The field, of observation was therefore exceedingly wide; but he should endeavour to confine himself within as narrow limits as possible. What he should feel it his duty to state was—that where so many interests were to be considered,

it could not be expected his remarks should be extremely short. His intention was to produce nothing but facts, and on them to found whatever he had to offer. On the voluminous resolutions which had just been read he could not form an accurate judgment; for they could not be perfectly understood, unless sufficient time were allowed for their consideration. He made no doubt that the Honorable Gentleman who proposed them, believed them to contain nothing but what was true:—still, however, they were merely opinions; and it was the duty of the Court to decide only on facts; to reason from the various bearings of facts; and, from the past, to argue on the probabilities of the future. There were some very good friends of his, who had kindly observed, that he came forward with what they pleased to call an ungenerous attack on the East-India Company.—(*Hear! hear!*) So far from this being the case, he was a friend to the Company from a three-fold consideration: he had the greatest respect and veneration for them, as a political body and a government: he had spent a considerable portion of his life, not less than fifteen years, in their service: he had visited every possession they had in India. He had taken a long time to consider every thing connected with their commercial, as well as their civil and

military establishments; he therefore had not formed an hasty opinion: his sentiments were not the result of the experience of weeks or of months, but the matured judgment of several years deep consideration; and he frankly declared, that even if Ministers had offered to concede every thing the Company wanted, he himself should have stepped forward, for the purpose of stopping the current of that, which he conceived detrimental to its interests, and those of the public. He was, in the first place, a friend to the Company, from feelings of real veneration for their excellent establishments; for he had often had occasion to observe the great zeal and ability displayed by the heads of departments, and the extraordinary attention and correctness evinced by those in minor situations. And here he considered it but the meed of justice to the gentlemen composing that Court, to enter his testimony against a delusion which has been spread abroad, that the government of India was neither free, liberal, nor equitable. He had visited all the Company's establishments, and he felt justified in stating, that no government in Europe was so excellently supported; the rights of the subject were sedulously watched over; the utmost protection extended to property; and all those blessings, which form the principal features and

the most pleasing attractions of civilized life, were unceasingly cherished--*(Applause)*. He had seen the establishments of Government in this country, and it was but candid to say, that the Company's establishments, particularly at Bengal, were as much superior, in efficiency and in the execution of all their duties, to those relative departments under the British Crown, either at home or in the colonies, as it is possible for any one Government to be superior to another. *(Great applause.)* Some instances of deficiency may doubtless be produced.—Perfection cannot be expected in mortal works—corruption will creep in: but, wherever any defect was discovered, exertions were instantly made to rectify it; and every thing which seemed likely to militate against the interest of the natives was studiously avoided. So much he said on a general view; but were he to go into detail, he could recount at length the various benefits derived from the different establishments.

If he looked to the military department, he was sure he could not be contradicted, when he said that the exploits of the Company's forces had not been excelled by any of the recent achievements of the British troops, great and glorious as they were. *(Applause.)*

In the revenue and commercial department,

a degree of correctness and attention was visible, which merited the highest eulogium, and he spoke in the hearing of many gentlemen who could correct him if he were wrong, that if in the commercial department, there was any room for censure, it did not arise from want of zeal in the individuals connected with it, but from the errors of the system, and the political arrangements which are joined with it. Generally, however, the different establishments were as complete as possible; and therefore it was far from his intention or wish, to overturn that form of Government, which had been so wisely supported in India. We had not there, as in this country, unsettled accounts of twenty or thirty years standing; on the contrary, although the revenue there amounted to £15,000,000, a sum little short of the revenue of England previous to the last war, yet so admirable was the system, that every account was settled, in six months after the period when it was contracted.—*(Applause.)* Let it not therefore be supposed, that he who could so well appreciate the excellence of the Government, could be anxious to ruin a system, which he hoped would not, even in part, be destroyed.

A second motive which bound him to the Company was, that of self-interest. He was a proprietor of East-India stock: not numerically,

it is true, to so great an amount as many gentlemen; but to him, retired from active life, it was, perhaps, of as great consequence as a much larger stake might be to others: surely therefore, he should not be accused of wilfully acting contrary to his own interest. There was a third motive by which he was actuated in coming forward, and which would perhaps weigh, in some degree, with the Court. Insulated from any benefit he might derive through the Company, he had a duty to perform as a citizen of this country; and if he conceived that an amelioration could be effected in any one point material to her interest; if her marine could be rendered more efficient; if her commerce could be improved; if the profits of her merchants could be increased, by pursuing the course he should recommend, these would form powerful motives for intruding his opinions on the Court.

On a subject of so much consequence, it was necessary that some particular order should be observed. With this view, he proposed to divide the remarks he should offer, under *five* heads: 1st, As to the correspondence between Government and the Company, which was then before the Court, he should compare it with that which took place on a former occasion, and examine in what light they ought to view it. 2d. He should

consider what was the situation of the Company's territory and commerce, at the renewal of the Charter in 1793; and what expectations were entertained by the Company, and by individuals, in consequence of that arrangement, which he should determine by facts. 3d, He should discuss the subject of an open trade, and whether it was likely to create advantages or disadvantages to the Indian empire, and to the public in general. 4th, He should consider the territorial and commercial rights of the Company; and 5th, What resources the Company possess—what are advantageous, what injurious; to shew that we ought to retain what is beneficial, and discard what is otherwise.

As to the first point, he found from the correspondence now before them, that the negociation for renewing the Charter commenced in 1802. It was unnecessary to state what propositions were then made; but certainly, in the second letter from the President of the Board of Control, at a subsequent period, two very material alterations were proposed; namely, the opening of the trade, and the transfer of the military forces of the Company to Government. In their answer of January 9, to this letter, he thought the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman, as far as the question of the open trade was con-

cerned, however eloquent their language, fell short of overthrowing the arguments adduced by their opponent; but, on the military part of the question, they were eminently successful. Indeed, if ever a point was supported by powerful reasoning, if ever facts were placed in a strong point of view, if ever argument was pursued to complete demonstration, it was on that occasion. *(Applause.)* These representations were attended to; Ministers changed their opinions—they waved that division of the question, and thus abandoned a measure which would have produced, he should not say absolute ruin, but immense evil to the nation.

Then came the second attempt at a negociation, in November last, when His Majesty's Ministers stated, that their opinion was altered from what it was before, inasmuch as they now thought it necessary to extend the import as well as the export trade. This appeared to be the only point on which they differed; for it seemed to him, from the letter of the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the 2d of April 1812, that the Court of Proprietors had conceded that the Charter should be renewed, on the principle of permitting an export from all ports, and confining the imports to the port of London. This, at least, seemed to have been implied, though no document existed by which it could be positively shewn.

Therefore, the question was, whether the interests of the Company would be so much affected by this proposed alteration in the import system, as to render it necessary to stop all farther negociation, for the purpose of procuring that, which is the guarantee of their dividends, and the protection of their stock. He did not approve of breaking off all conference. He would have recommended, that His Majesty's Ministers should have been required to state, if mischief resulted from the alteration, how far they were willing to guarantee the ultimate stock of the Company, and the dividends due thereon. But the Court of Directors thought otherwise, and so did Ministers. At issue they were, and in order to settle their differences, private conferences were certainly the best, where, without taking down minutes, all the parties could come forward with candour and frankness. He did not mean to call in question the sincerity of the Court of Directors; he had no doubt but they had the interests of the Company at heart: but still a diversity of opinion might be entertained; and he did think, that as the Court stated, on the 2d of April, that they would come to no decision till the final intentions of Government were known, and on the 2d of December, engaged

cordially to cultivate private conferences, without taking minutes, and answered, when the question was put to them, that they could have nothing to communicate, until His Majesty's Ministers had committed to writing the full extent to which they were willing to go; under these circumstances, it was surprising that the Court of Directors should agree to the resolution of the 18th of January, which, without meaning to offend, he must consider as premature. He looked upon it as a kind of defiance held out to the Government. It was saying to the Ministers, "we are determined on a certain line of conduct, no matter what arguments you may make use of."—What success, he should be glad to know, could be obtained by this proceeding?

His Majesty's Ministers were accused of altering their opinion—but the reason was clear. Did not the Court state on what terms the Charter was to be renewed? Did not the information spread over the country like wild-fire; and were not petitions signed in every quarter, calling on Ministers to avert that, which the petitioners considered highly detrimental to the outports? Thus, the Ministers, standing in the situation of umpires, between the merchants of the outports and the Company, were bound to hear the arguments on each side. It was said,

that nothing but opinion was set in opposition to the statements from the Chair. The reality was this—the Directors were afraid that their commerce would suffer, and that the revenue would be injured by smuggling, and this was represented to the President of the Board of Control. What was the answer of the Earl of Buckinghamshire? "We have examined the Commissioners of the Revenue at the outports, who state, that there is no probability of any such loss." Was it possible to proceed upon better ground than this? Indeed, he had seen two of the Commissioners himself, and by them he had been informed. that there was more smuggling carried on in the River Thames, than in any other part of the kingdom—*(A laugh.)*

This might be matter of opinion, and he only stated it as such; and therefore, considered the conduct of the Earl of Buckinghamshire, as perfectly correct in giving that answer. What, he should be glad to know, was his duty as President of the Board of Control, but to watch over the interests of the country at large, and to attend to the representations of those who requested to be admitted to a participation in the trade? And he was afraid, that the representations of the *iron* manufacturers of Birmingham and Sheffield, had, on the present occasion, so

steeled the hearts of His Majesty's Ministers, and so *tempered* their minds, that all the *gold* of the East-Indies would not be able to remove the impression. He had been told, that they had not gone back, without effecting the purpose of their visit to the metropolis. Their arguments, it seems, were too strong to be resisted, and Ministers had been induced to impart to them a portion of the import as well as of the export trade.

Now let it be examined what was the course pursued at the period of the renewal of the last Charter. The negociation took place in January 1793, with Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas. The Directors demanded on what terms they were to receive the Charter, and they closed immediately with the proposition, which was made. On the 16th of February, Mr. Dundas's letter on the subject was read to the Court, it was also published, and the business was considered as settled. But what was the ultimate event? Why, the merchants throughout the country claimed a part of the trade; and meetings were held at Glasgow, Birmingham, Sheffield, &c. for the purpose of petitioning. Deputations also met Mr. Dundas, and, on the 24th of February, he wrote to the Court of Directors:— "we cannot," said he, "agree to give you the Charter on the terms you desire; there must

be such an extension of the trade to, and from India, as will enable the merchants to bring home the greatest quantity of raw materials, for the use of the British empire; as well as to send out as much manufactures as they can possibly dispose of." The Directors, at that time, were as firm as they were now, but they acted very differently. "We cannot," answered they, "decide ourselves; but we will submit the business to the Court of Proprietors." And, had this been done on the present occasion, it would not have been worse for the Company. The Court of Directors did apply to the Proprietors, and the consequence was, that a certain portion of tonnage was allowed to the private merchants. If this course had been adhered to now, he would have been better satisfied, and so, he believed, would the country. He could not see any thing blameable in the line followed on this occasion by His Majesty's Ministers, which was similar to that of 1793; nor could he perceive any thing improper in the language held by them.

If the expressions of the Earl of Buckinghamshire were considered disrespectful, what must be thought of those made use of by Mr. Dundas, in the former negociation? He had heard an attack, at the last meeting, on the

conduct of the noble Earl, and as the opinion of one might sometimes be looked upon as the opinion of many, he had thought it right that his sentiments should not be mistaken. The Earl of Buckinghamshire was accused of using harsh language: but those who examined the correspondence must at once see that the assertion was not warranted. If the language of Lord Buckinghamshire was viewed in so very offensive a light, how was that of Mr. Dundas, in his letter of March 24, 1793, to be considered? In that letter he thus expresses himself:—— "I am not anxious what your opinions may be. The proposals I transmit are such as I shall feel justified in recommending to Parliament; you may accede to them, if you please; if you do not, I cannot recommend to Parliament the renewal of your Charter; and I am ready to meet you in the House of Commons, on this, or any other basis."

This might be considered decisive; but certainly the language of Lord Buckinghamshire was more mild; and, therefore, he thought it necessary to say, that the Court ought not to concur in such strong expressions, as had been made use of in speaking of that noble lord. Viewing him in the high situation which he filled, and in which he was bound to consider the interests of all, they ought, instead of reproaching him, to have rather be-

lieved, that he was actuated by the purest motives, and that he was endeavouring to procure that, which appeared to him to be best for the great body of the empire.

The next point Mr. Hume spoke of was with respect to the state of the Indian commerce, at the commencement of the present Charter in 1793. It would be recollected, that complaints were made, through various channels, by merchants at home and abroad, that a large proportion of British capital was rendered unproductive to this country, in consequence of the unfavourable state of exchange, rendering it difficult to get remittances to Europe. Those who had got a little property, desirous of remitting it as easily as possible, and being unwilling to lose 10 or 15 per cent. by the ordinary mode, threw their capital into foreign channels. This became a crying evil, and at length occasioned a portion of the trade to be thrown open.

Let us see, continued Mr. Hume, whether this was attended with success? What was the state of the Indian commerce, at the renewal of the Charter in 1793? According to papers laid before the House of Commons, the total value of the imports made by private British merchants was £181,710. But, in consequence of the little *alleviation* then given to the exclusion, they in-

creased, in 1798, to £881,000. This was a very great alteration; but dangers then began to press upon us, and the war on the Continent occasioned the trade to slacken very much. The British merchants also saw a new enemy coming against their commerce; an enemy who, having long sucked our blood, is now opposing us with it, he meant America.—*(Applause.)* The conduct of the Bengal merchants at that time did them honour. They saw the danger, and they memorialised the Government. The language of His Majesty's Ministers, and of the Board of Control, who dreaded the effect which might be produced, by the union of American enterprize with British capital, was extremely proper.—" We will," said they, " afford you facilities for bringing home all that property which you tell us is shipped in foreign vessels." This was a laudable determination, and proved advantageous to the country; for a considerable proportion of the trade did come home—But the capability in 1798 was not the same as in 1793.

At that time the private merchants thought themselves capable of carrying on the whole surplus trade—and observed, " we will take up the entire trade of British India, as it falls from the foreigners and the American merchants." This was the tenor of their proposition, at that period, and this only. Such was the language then held

by some of those very merchants, who are now coming forward, complaining of any attempt to change the present system. Their language to the Board of Control was this:—"foreigners go to India, without restraint, and export commodities to all the states of Europe, in their own ships,—while we, the subjects of England, are degraded below the state of aliens." The last expression he did not think strictly proper,—for they knew their conditions, and could not truly designate themselves as aliens. They then state—"the objects we propose are calculated to increase the strength and prosperity of the parent state, as well as of India, by advancing the interests of the shipping, navigation, and trade of both;—the Company cannot absorb all the commerce, and the surplus is taken up by foreigners, which might be brought, in British ships, to the Thames, to the complete destruction of the foreign trade, which is permitted under the present system."

Mr. Hume continued to state, that he himself had known goods, to the amount of £20,000, shipped on board an American by an agent's house in Calcutta, sold in America, and the returns made in sufficient time to take up the bills. This surely was an occupation of British capital. Why should not this trade be carried on by British ships and seamen? Why should we

run the danger of losing the carrying trade?— These were points of great importance, not only in reference to the British merchant, but to the empire in general. Because, such a diversion of the trade tends to deprive us of that by which we are enabled to support our dignity, as a great nation. What are our navigation laws founded upon, but a proper determination that Great Britain shall obtain from her colonies as much of the carrying trade, as she can possibly manage; that she may increase the number of her ships and men; that she may extend her marine, and depress the naval power of other states.

He had often been told, when complaining of foreigners being permitted to participate in our commerce, that if they did not carry it on, we could not carry it on ourselves; but he thought, that if America was suffered to extract wealth from our colonies, by trading in articles which they did not want for their own use,—if you gave them the profit of the import to America, and the subsequent export, comprising all the benefits of the carrying trade, you deprived Great Britain of so many advantages;— for he contended that she was perfectly capable of carrying on the trade herself, and of supplying the demands of the world. We are told that the trade cannot be changed—that America

sails under a neutral flag, and that, without it, we could not carry on so much business as we do. Now, he could prove that the change of commerce was not so difficult as might be imagined. We had an instance of this fact in the situation of our own commerce. If we did not permit the Americans to supply our own colonies and the Spanish main with goods, we should have the benefit of reshipping them, and thus the strength and profit which she acquires by that branch of commerce, would revert to us.

He had formed his opinion on the evidence of the best informed men; many of whom were examined in 1809, before the House of Commons. What did Mr. Bebb, one of the Directors of the Company, say on this subject?—"England has nothing to fear from competition; she could supply the whole of Europe, if proper regulations were adopted."—Suffice it to say, that, by the policy which has been pursued, we have lost a vast portion of those benefits which we ought to derive from India—and we have furnished America with that strength which she exerts against ourselves. We have supplied her with money—a most dangerous article to place in the hands of an enemy. He told them to look at the report of Mr. Gallatin, of the 9th of November; and that there they would find, that, of

the whole resources of the American Government 1,000,000 of dollars arising from the duties paid on East-India goods; a circumstance worthy of deep attention. These facts he was anxious should be generally known, and he was sure, when they were, no man would hesitate to sacrifice that, which he could prove to be an ideal advantage, for the public good.

As the Charter of 1793 did not present sufficient facilities to the India merchant, Lord Wellesley afforded them a certain degree of relief, in 1798, by permitting them to export, under licenses, with as few restrictions as possible. His Lordship, knowing the quantity of American shipping which filled the Indian ports, and being desirous that the surplus trade should be reserved for British subjects, with all that prudence and ability which marked his conduct in India, from his first arrival there, till his departure, permitted the trade by license. When speaking of the affairs of India, it would, in his opinion, be a great omission, if he did not pay his tribute of admiration to that excellent nobleman. No man ever exerted himself more for the benefit of the Indian empire;—to consolidate and strengthen it, was the great object of his zeal. Some of his regulations might be objectionable; but, we ought to overlook a few errors, if there were

any; and examine his government, not in parts, but in the whole: one of his paragraphs, on the subject of exclusion, expressly says:—"such restrictions tend to throw the trade into the hands of foreign nations, and enable them to supply the rest of Europe, which would otherwise be furnished by Great-Britain. Every principle of policy and justice calls for an extension of the trade." It was to the opinions of such men as these that we ought to look; men who have considered the subject on the foundation of public good, not of private benefit; by them we should be influenced, and not by the clamours of those who know little or nothing of the business. That our commercial interest had been affected by this admission of the Americans to a participation in the India Trade, he could prove from the Report on Indian External Commerce, laid before the House of Commons. Lord Wellesley had foretold what would be the result of permitting Americans to trade with India; and what had been the result? A constant increase of their commerce, as would be seen by the following statements.

Average of four years, 1795-6 and 1798-9:—

	Lacks of Rupees.
Exports made by the London merchants	$60\frac{3}{4}$
——— Foreign Europe - -	$26\frac{1}{4}$
——— America - -	19

In 1801-2, it amounted to 48 lacks of rupees; in 1804, 53½ lacks; and in 1807, it had increased to no less than 85 lacks of rupees;—that was, an increase of near five times the original amount within the space of nine years. Such was the result, although the supporters of the present East-India system, who were hostile to the private merchants, declared that this was a trade with which nothing more could be done. And, he was convinced, if it had not been for the foolish restrictions of America herself, the amount would have been still greater. Even in the years 1809-10, notwithstanding the partial obstruction which took place, she imported to the amount of 68 lacks of rupees. And what was the average import of the British merchant, at the same time? Only 74 lacks; being a difference of six lacks. Means ought to be taken to give the British merchant a greater extension of this trade; but from all he had seen, and heard, and read—from all he had learned, even from the servants of the Company, who had taken a general review of the subject, it appeared that the expectations held out by the Company had not been acted upon. It became a matter of great national consideration; and, if it appeared that the results had not been commensurate with the hopes entertained by the

nation, did it not demand the sedulous attention of the Legislature, to examine what change was necessary; to consider what alteration could be made, consistent with the safety of our commercial interests, and the general advantage of the empire?

In such a state of things, they ought not to come to a hasty decision; interested opinions, which apply only to parts of the system, ought not to be considered as bearing on the whole. Therefore, every person should give his utmost assistance, in order to guard against the calamities which were likely to be produced, by allowing to the Americans, that which was refused to the British merchant. Already had we felt the evil effects of such a policy, which had furnished America with a staff to break our own heads. Now, it had been contended, that the course of commerce could not be changed; but he thought a view of the exports from Great Britain to America, prior to the war, would tend to place this question in a clearer light. Every person was of opinion, that the non-importation act of America, would ruin England:—merchants, of great experience, in the city, exclaimed—"America takes from us 12 or £13,000,000 in manufactures, and now we shall have nothing to do." But it was very well known, that they took them, not for their own consumption, but to supply other countries.

By this the Americans gained a double advantage; they increased their marine, and by reshipping these goods to our own West India colonies, and the Spanish main, they enriched themselves very much. In 1805, the exports of Great Britain to all America amounted to £20,094,125; in 1806, £24,753,142. In 1807, £23,451,738; of which the United States took 11, 12, and 13 millions, respectively in those years. The restrictions of the American government then took place, and the exports to the United States, in 1808, fell to £5,000,000. Then it was said England was ruined; and even very honest men in the House of Commons made use of that language. But in fact she gained by it. Her exports to the West-Indies, Spanish America, &c. being raised to £18,173,056, from about £9,000,000. Here, then, was a complete and positive change effected, in the course of trade, in one year. And it was an incontrovertible truth that a country, whose products consist in the necessaries of life, would have purchasers for them, unless the system of civilization were destroyed. Some persons might say, this was only a single instance of a particular year, and that many merchants were ruined by their speculations to South America. The following year, 1809, however, presented a farther increase of exports, which

were carried to their destination, in our own ships. In that year our exports to the

United States, were	£7,160,768
To other parts of America.. .	19,833,696
Making a total of	£27,29[illegible],464

And in the succeeding year, 1810, the total amount of our exports, to all parts of America, exceeded £28,000,000. Now, could it be supposed, if these speculations produced ruin, that the merchants would have persevered in them? The fact was, that some individuals were ruined, and others made a great deal of money by the trade to South America. And it was not surprising, that failures took place, since goods, the most improper for that climate, were sent out. Even *skates*, he believed, formed a part of the ventures furnished by certain individuals. It could not be imagined, that if a total failure took place, one year, merchants would pursue the same course, in the next; for it was contrary to the established principles of commercial men, to trade at a loss; although, perhaps, he might except the East-India Company, who seemed to act differently. It was his wish to shew, that the course of commerce might be changed; but that while we were the producing country, it was not the power of all the states of the world com-

bined, unless Bonaparte barbarizes the continent, and the Americans can go naked, to destroy our commerce; and every person who knows the price of labour in this country, and our facilities to create manufactures, must see the almost utter impossibility of our being undersold in the different markets.

The average exports to the United States, the West-Indies, and South America, in the year 1809 10, and 11, were 28,638,000, being a surplus amount of 3,000,000 above any year prior to the restrictions. Thus, while America was dilapidating her resources, and destroying her marine, by throwing away such an immense trade, we were increasing our strength, in the same proportion; instead of enlarging their finances, and giving that impulse to their industry, which every person ought to dread. This evidently proved, that, in spite of all difficulties, those goods which were absolutely necessary for consumption, would force themselves into the market; and, while the commerce of Great Britain remained unshackled, no power could interfere to crush it. We ought, therefore, to look to our Eastern territories, and examine what benefit could be derived from an extended commerce with a population of 60,000,000, instead of permitting foreigners to have all the advantage.—Was it to

be allowed, that they should step in, and enjoy the fruits of so much blood and treasure? Ought we not to do every thing in our power to keep those advantages ourselves? And he hoped that selfish interested motives would not be permitted to interfere with the public good.—So far from an extension of the trade injuring the port of London, he could prove that this metropolis would actually gain by it. *(Hear! hear! and laughter.)*

He did not mean to say he should be able to convince them all, though he was perfectly sensible of the truth of his position. He had heard in that Court, and at various meetings, that the grand criterion by which the uselessness of extending the trade was made evident, was the fact, that 51,000 tons of shipping had been provided for the private merchants, and, because these were not taken up, it was assumed, as a matter of course, that the exports could not be increased, even if increased means were allowed. Now he could shew, in answer to this, that the amount of our exports at present, was five times what it was at the commencement of the Charter; indeed, the exports from England by private merchants, had borne a proportionate rise with the imports, and he would demonstrate that they might have been improved in a ten-fold degree.

The exports of the London merchants to India.

	Lacks of Rupees
In 1798, was	$18\frac{1}{2}$
The average of three years ending in 1802, was..	41
Average of 1803-4	$77\frac{1}{3}$
Average of three years, ending 1807,	$89\frac{2}{3}$

Here then was an increase in the exports of the private merchants, from $18\frac{1}{2}$ lacks in 1798 to $89\frac{2}{3}$ in 1807, being a period of only nine years. And yet it was asserted that the export trade could not be increased. He would state another instance particularly strong.—In the months of June and August, 1800, exports from England were very great in consequence of a trifling relaxation of the restrictions. Twenty vessels sailed in that year from the port of London, for India, with cargoes valued at £635,000. And it might easily be conceived what advantage London must have derived from the fitting out such a number of ships, providing necessary stores, paying the crews, &c. all which was done in that port. It was for him now to shew that the exports would be increased: and here it was necessary to observe, that, at the renewal of the Charter, the export of British manufactures to China, amounted annually to £629,000, and the difference between that sum and the price of the investments was

paid in specie. At that time no hopes were held out that any great increase could be effected; but to prove that the boundaries of that trade, could not be calculated upon, it was only necessary to state, that, in 1803, the exports amounted to £1,523,000, being more than double what they were ten years before; and that to a place, the exports to which were considered as having arrived at their *ne plus ultra*. As to the imports from India, by private merchants, through the Company, they amounted, in 1793, to £181,000. But, when Lord Wellesley permitted the merchants to export, in their own vessels, under licenses, an increase of upwards of £900,000 took place in one year. This much he would say, that if British merchants were allowed what they contended for, they would have brought home much more, without detriment to the country, which would, on the contrary, have been much benefited by so large a branch of trade being taken from the hands of the Americans. Mr. Colebrooke, who had studied commerce, both in its minute details and general principles, who had attentively considered the subject, both as it affected private interest and public welfare, and whose opinion was of the highest value, expressed his conviction, that if the manufactures of Great Britain were introduced to the Indian

market at a lower price, the increased demand, from a population of 60,000,000 of people, would be incalculable. But no attempt had been made to lower the price, by throwing open the trade, and introducing a fair competition. No fair trial had yet been made; and it was for them to decide on the expediency and necessity of making it. Every one must recollect the warmth with which the subject had been originally taken up by the British merchants, and the numerous meetings which were held. The representations which had been made led to the alternative proposed by the British Minister:—"I am determined," said he, "convinced as I am that the statements laid before me are such as I ought to attend to, to allow an extension of the trade to British merchants—and if you refuse, I will not advocate the renewal of your Charter." The Directors, as they had no arguments at that time, insisted on their rights by Charter, and demanded, "Will you take from us what the legislature have granted?" This, however, did not avail, and a modification was agreed to. On the present occasion they had certainly advanced arguments; and, indeed, if they attempted to shelter themselves under their exclusive privileges, he hoped they would not be permitted.

At the renewal of the present Charter, in

1793, great expectations were held out to the British merchant, but never realised. A given quantity of shipping was to sail at certain stated periods, which was of great importance, as some goods, by being kept beyond a particular time, were liable to spoil, and others ought to go out at a specific day. It was also most important that the vessels should be taken up, without any political view, in all fair weather seasons, and that no improper detention should take place, by which the expense of insurance would be saved, and by which means the merchants would know when their goods were likely to arrive, that they might have the returns ready. This was of the utmost consequence, because it was very generally known, that the merchant did not trade entirely on his own capital, but made use of the manufacturer's goods, having granted bills to the amount, and it was easy to conceive the difficulties which were created, if, by any delay in sending the goods to their place of destination, the returns did not arrive in time to make good the payments. It was proved in evidence before the House of Commons, that, in consequence of delays in the sailing of the Company's shipping, bills had been sent back, and the honour of the British merchant compromised. This was what he considered one of the principal causes which operated against the increase of our East-India exports. The

hon. gentleman, who spoke before him, expressed himself in favour of a safe trade rather than a speculative one—he perfectly agreed with him in the sentiment, and would ask him, did he consider that a safe trade, where the merchant embarks his money on goods, but does not know whether they will arrive at their destination, in time to enable him to take up his bills? That certainly was not a safe trade—and, when it was carried on under such hazardous circumstances, it was no wonder that persons wished to have the system changed; but, if that change seemed likely to be detrimental, he would be the first person to come forward to oppose it.

It was generally agreed, that the ships from India ought to sail in the beginning of March, and those from England in the latter end of June; these were the fair-weather seasons, and the Company stipulated that the ships should sail at those periods. But he would prove, that they had broken their engagement. Out of seventy ships which sailed from England for India, and *vice versâ*, in 1806, 7, and 8, thirty-nine sailed out of season, as appears from an account laid before the House of Commons, being more than the one-half; and of forty others, no less than twenty-nine sailed out of the regular time. The sailing of these ships did not depend either on

the apprehensions of an enemy, or the bad state of the weather; but they were delayed at various places, and their departure made subservient to the private interests of the Company, with which the British merchant had nothing at all to do. This clearly shewed that the sanction held out was at variance with the conduct pursued. Now, to shew what a private trade was capable of doing, he would state one or two facts, which he had got documents to prove. In 1779, the culture of indigo was commenced under the auspices of the East-India Company.—What was the state of that trade in 1786? Only 240,011lbs. were imported into England in that year from India: we were then tributary to America and Manilla for a proper supply of indigo. The trade was, however, given up to British merchants; and sure he was, if the Company had retained it, the result would have been extremely different. Under the new management, no less than 5,570,000lbs. of indigo were imported from India, in the year 1810. This was a fact which could not be contradicted; and shewed, that the extension of our Indian commerce gave us that for which, otherwise, we should, to this hour, have been dependent on America.

He said we were a great state, capable of revolving in our own circle; and that we ought not to be tributary to any other state, but other states

should rather be rendered tributary to us. Cotton was another very important article in our manufactures: yet, in 1805, we were supplied almost entirely by Spain, Portugal, and America.—What were our own resources? Of the whole importation, amounting to 59,682,000lbs, India furnished only 355,000lbs., $\frac{1}{168}$th of the actual quantity. But when America evinced her hostility, which he hoped would revert with redoubled force on her own head, it was necessary to seek for a supply elsewhere. Meetings were held at Manchester, and other places, and the Ministers were applied to, as the guardians of that staple manufacture. What was the conduct of Ministers? They saw all the world united against Great Britain, and that she had no other place to look to for support, but her own colonies, and they immediately turned their eyes towards India. Messrs. David Scott and Co., Bruce, De Ponthieu, and other eminent merchants, were applied to, and they said, "We are capable of supplying from India every ounce of cotton wanted for our manufactures, if we are allowed to navigate our vessels as we like, to load them without restrictions, and to sail when we please." What was the result? The Secret Report of a Committee of the House of Commons pointed out the necessity of permitting the importation.

No sooner was this known in India, than the merchants at Bombay prepared a vast quantity for the purpose of sending to England; so true it is, that individual energy will outstrip the tardy proceedings of an immense politico-commercial establishment. The Company, however, would not then allow the exportation from particular circumstances. Without going into detail, however, they should look to the ultimate fact. In 1810, the total importation of cotton was 136,570,100lbs. of which India supplied 23,000,000, being $\frac{1}{6}$th of the whole instead of $\frac{1}{168}$th. This was a result which ought to be viewed with pride; it did not need a comment, as the facts spoke for themselves. Now, if, in those instances, they were furnished with a distinct proof of the benefit which an open commerce had produced; if, in the articles of cotton and indigo, so immense an increase of exportation had taken place—an increase beyond the most sanguine expectations,—could any man, having considered these circumstances, come forward and point out the boundaries farther than which our trade could not be carried? We were told, and he could not help noticing the liberality of the remark, that those who called for an extension of the trade, were poor, ignorant, deluded people; and a story was told of one of

them, who said, " I have signed a petition, but I do not know for what." But this, it is said, is not the way in the city of London.— We do not act without deep consideration.— Yet this assertion was at variance with the language he had heard in the city.—" Go away," said an honorable gentleman, at a recent meeting, " consider that your own interest is at stake —it is not the common interest of the nation, but the interest of the British merchants in London that you are to protect. Therefore, go home, and endeavour to do away the delusion by which the country is misled.—Point out to the petitioners their danger, and shew them that a compliance with their will must effect their ruin." Now all this he thought very useless; for if they try once, and find that the speculation will not answer, they will not try a second time—therefore there is a bound to their exercise of the gift; for he was sure no man would run headlong two or three times successively on the same mischief.

This was not the case, however, with the Company, who have been, for years, trading with a positive knowledge that they sustained a loss. And for what? Why, for the good of the country; and certainly their patriotism cannot be too highly praised. But he would not attach to them all the credit, which they gave to

themselves. He would say, as a trading company, it was mal-policy to act as they did. If it was the case, they ought not to have pursued such conduct; and he would undertake to shew, that the India commerce was a ruinous business.

The Chairman himself expressly said, "the India trade has long ceased to be of importance either to the Company or to individuals." If, therefore, this was a statement of fact; if the India commerce was so unproductive as to be no longer of importance to the Company; could there be any solid argument for withholding it from others? was it not preposterous that they should still preserve it? Therefore, as a friend to the Company, he wished this delusion to be done away.—*(Hear! hear!)* He repeated, it was a delusion; and if the Company really attached no importance to the trade, why did they trouble their heads about it? Instead of carrying on a losing trade, it would be better for them to reduce their establishments, and to pension such of their servants as might be thrown out of employment. If the trade was disadvantageous to us, why should it not be given up to those who conceived they could improve it? Mr. Bebb, in his evidence before the House of Commons, expressly stated, that the trade might be rendered advantageous by the British merchants, and that

the East-India Company had nothing to dread from its extension. If, therefore, a man possessing so much information on the subject; who had resided long in India, and maturely considered the question, came at last to this conclusion—if those who were most intimately acquainted with East India affairs made a similar declaration—if the British merchants concurred in this opinion, and, more than that, were ready to embark in this trade—if these facts did not tend to satisfy the minds of gentlemen, he knew not what would satisfy them. He next stated, that he should endeavour to shew what had been the state of the commerce between India and this country for several years past; and then let it be considered whether it was advantageous to the Company or otherwise. The accounts of the Company have been so mixed, the political and commercial items have been so joined together, that the best informed persons cannot divide them. A committee of the House of Commons, which sat for months on the business, have declared it impossible to make the separation, so as to draw a fair commercial deduction. Every person who has been in India knows the accuracy with which the accounts of the Company are kept; the extraordinary correctness of the board of revenue, than which none deserves

more praise, is generally admitted; from documents made up by them he should now take his statement. In inquiring what were the resources of the Company, it was necessary to divide them into three heads: 1st, territorial revenue; 2d, China trade; 3d, trade to India. [*The hon. gentleman here went into an elaborate statement, under each of these heads, of which the following is only an abstract.*] He first stated, that the territories in India were indebted to the Company in a large sum, about £5,778,000; making, with a variety of items, a total of £6,800,000, expended on the civil government and military operations in India. The profits of the China trade were £16,602,852, not including 10 per cent. on invoice profits outwards, which make the whole £18,142,619. The deductions from this, by rate of exchange on bills, captures, &c. were £2,500,795, leaving the profit and loss on the China trade £16,641,824. This was taken from the years 1792-3 to the years 1809-10. The statement of the profit and loss on the India trade, he said, he should take from a document laid before Parliament. The profit on this trade, for six years, was £1,853,276, the loss on two years £299,148, leaving £1,554,128; to this, adding profit on goods outward, £271,187, makes the total pro-

fit £1,825,315. From this was to be deducted, for various losses, and for insurance, £2,168,192; making loss on this trade, in eight years, £342,877, without taking any one of the many charges to be added for payments to owners of lost ships, specie to government, &c. There was a loss on the India trade, in three years, of £355,846; and, in the same period, a gain on the China trade of £3,504,195.

If, therefore, government have offered the Company the renewal of their charter, on terms which every thing of any value, for it is to be remembered that the China trade alone enables the Company to pay their dividends on India stock, such an offer ought not to be rashly rejected. An hon. Director, of whose abilities and attention to the affairs of the Company it was impossible to speak in too high terms, stated in opposition to what fell from him, that the India trade was a matter of the utmost importance to the Company; that it enabled them to pay their dividends; and if they did not possess it, that the whole system would fall by its own weight—and observed, that the profits on the trade were from one to £400,000 *per annum*.—Now he would take the medium, and suppose a profit of £200,000 *per annum*, for 19 years, which would give a sum of near £4,000,000—and he would be

very glad to learn, if they really derived this profit both on the India and China trade, how their debts continued to increase in England, and by what means these profits were absorbed and lost to the country? But that the truth was, as he had distinctly proved, there was a positive loss on the India trade. On this he rested, and on this he grounded his reasoning. He could not forbear, therefore, again urging on the attention of the court, that if Ministers were disposed to give them every thing that was valuable—if they were disposed to continue that system of management, which secures the happiness of millions in India; if they were willing to continue to the Company the exclusive possession of the China trade, as a boon, for their rights ceased with the charter—ought they not, with a good grace, to yield up the Indian trade, in which the country must and will participate, whether they would or not? If Government offer to continue to us the whole of our India territory, with a revenue of £16,000,000, burdened with an expenditure somewhat less than the receipts at present; but which, from the reduction of many of our establishments, that ought to be looked for, will, at a future period, be considerably less than the receipts—if they give us a breathing time for the payment of our debts—if they give us, in short, every thing worth having,

—is it for the Company to throw down the gauntlet of opposition to all negociation? When they offer fairly, ought we, the proprietors of East-India stock, to refuse their proposition? For he drew a wide distinction between the court of proprietors and the court of directors, as the latter might be influenced to carry on a losing trade, for the purpose of still preserving the patronage attached to it.—Ministers very naturally told the Company, they could see no reason why they ought to have the exclusive power of conducting the Indian trade, when the profits, by their own account, were less than nothing—nor was it to be expected, that either Ministers, or the representatives of the people in parliament, would take the part of a few of his Majesty's subjects, against the interests of the rest of the country. Ought not gentlemen to deliberate with great caution before they proceed to deliver statements against Ministers? Ought they not to pause before they give a decisive refusal? Have they not acted rashly in breaking off the negociation themselves—in saying, almost expressly, "they will not even consider "the proposition of Ministers?" What was that proposition? It was nothing more than to give up a part of the import trade to the outports,—and were they, by withholding that, to lose the whole of their immunities? There was a considerable loss

incurred by the Company, in consequence of the way in which the India trade was carried on—and there was strong reason to infer, from the documents he had quoted, that it might be greatly increased, and advantageously conducted by private individuals.—But then they come to the grand point—" If," (say the Company) " the extension " is granted, then we shall have Europeans going " out to India, in vast numbers—what description " of persons would then go out?—Unlicensed ad- " venturers, by whose misconduct you will risk " the subversion of the government."—(*Hear! hear!*) Mr. Hume said he wished them to hear, for it was a subject of great consequence.

Are the sovereigns of India, holding under their sway and authority an army of 153,000 men, 20,000 of them the troops of his Majesty, are they to be afraid of a few raggamuffins, who may run away from their ships? Are they to be frightened by a few straggling vagabonds? They, who are possessed of so many fortresses, garrisoned by their own troops? The captains of vessels trading to India are highly respectable, and superior, in nautical knowledge, generally speaking, to the officers in his Majesty's service; and he hoped, if their ships were taken from them, by the new arrangements, they would be properly remunerated.

But what vessels were proposed to be ad-

mitted to the India trade?—None under 400 tons burthen.—Now, would any man seriously tell him, that the owner of a ship of 400 tons would send out persons to India, in whom he could not place perfect confidence? In the Company's ships, the captains attended merely to the business of the vessel, and had nothing to do with the cargo; but the persons appointed to command the ships fitted out by private merchants,for the India trade,would not only be captains, but factors or agents; men in whom their employers could implicitly rely. Such an objection as this falls to the ground without argument. But, it was said, the sailors would be worse than they generally are—he thought they would be better than they are now. How are the East-Indiamen manned at present? By vagrants of all countries, picked up by crimps, and sent on board without the knowledge of their officers, or of each other. Did their officers know them? Certainly not. Did they repose confidence in them? Most assuredly not.—On the other hand, he said, that, by extending the trade to the outports, the natives of this country would embark for India—men who are resident here, and who would leave their wives and families behind them, as hostages for their return, and pledges for their correct conduct while abroad. Therefore, the danger to be apprehended from the in-

flux of Europeans would be diminished, not increased.

But it was observed, the numbers who go out would be unbounded. That must be entirely regulated by the trade; for no man would send out goods, or embark his capital, without the expectation of being reimbursed. This was a self-evident fact. But, say the opponents of the extension, those people will colonize, and the oppression of the natives will follow. This he was sure never could be the case, while the laws were administered in India with so much justice and equity. There was as much civil liberty there as there was in this country; the very prejudices of the people were attended to. To prove how solicitous the Company were to protect their subjects, he would mention a case which occurred a few years ago. Two or three young men, on an excursion from their college at Calcutta, set fire to a mud cottage. What was the result? Why, a gentleman of the name of Grant, an officer in the Company's service, on the point of joining his regiment, was arraigned for the offence, found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged, which punishment was afterwards commuted to transportation for life to Botany Bay. This, surely, was a proof that the interests of the natives were deeply considered. Every man's property was as firmly secured to him in that country as in this; and the

judges of the different courts, he was proud to say, in vindication of the Company, and in opposition to some unfounded reports which had been circulated, were a most meritorious class of persons, remarkable for their integrity and ability. Though the learning and talents of these gentlemen were more peculiarly honourable to themselves, still they reflected credit on the Company, who selected them, and whose servants they might be considered. The police of India was also admirable. He wished to God there was as vigilant a police in England. Every unknown straggler is immediately seized there: no person can possibly reside in India without the license of government. If he gets into the country, he is sure to be apprehended by some of the *Chokees*, or guards established to prevent unlicensed residence; and the first police officer he meets arrests him, and claims the reward allowed. He is considered as a deserter, and a price being set on his head, he has no chance of escape; for, even if he passes one or two stations, he cannot ultimately get away. Such is the excellent police of that country.—[*The honorable Gentleman was here interrupted by the cry of Question.*]

These are facts, he continued, which every officer in the Company's service must be aware of; and which, if any person is not willing

to hear, he may indulge his feelings, by going away.

But he was told of another fear, that the Europeans would obtain influence, and acquire property in India. Those who dread this event ought to know, that in India an European cannot acquire property; the law completely prevents him, and if he purchases an acre of land from a native, the latter may cite him before a magistrate, and demand his ground back again. The magistrate would immediately tell the European, "What you have done is illegal, and you have lost your money." Another ground of fear was stated to be, that the new comers would pass our territories, and excite the Princes of the neighbouring states against us. But those who advanced this, should know, that there is an article in every treaty between the Company and the native Princes, by which the latter engage to cause to be arrested, imprisoned, and finally sent to the nearest port, every European or American who may enter their territories without the Company's license. These treaties were accessible to every person; and, on that point, he need say no more.

As to the fear of insurrection, which was mentioned in the Report of the Select Committee, every person who has been in India must be aware how little danger is to be apprehended

from the descendants of Europeans in that country. The character of Europeans soon degenerates there; they soon cease to be that formidable and enterprising species of men, ready to act as their ambition prompts them. Every person knows that the descendants of the Portuguese in India are more despicable than the natives themselves. What fear, then, can be excited by such a race, without property, and without spirit? We are informed that Europeans will get to India with greater facility after the extension, than they could before. But what cause of prevention has hitherto existed? Why cannot they go there now? Because the laws meet them on their landing. There is no difficulty in getting out; but this is useless, as the police destroys every chance of their escape into the country. What does Marquis Wellesley say on this subject? "The powers of the Government in India," says his Lordship, "operating in full force against unlicensed individuals, will prevent any irregular intercourse between that country and England for sinister purposes."

The opening of the trade, therefore, can produce no danger, while we hold, as I hope we always shall hold, unimpaired, those salutary laws which are eminently calculated to secure the safety of our Indian empire. So perfect is the police system there, that if a sailor is

wanted to go on board his ship at Bombay, the officers can bring him to his boat in ten minutes. [*The cry of* QUESTION *here became so great, that Sir* H. INGLIS *addressed the Court, and entreated they would hear the Hon. Proprietor, however long he might choose to speak, or however irrelevant his arguments might be, as he wished to hear every thing that could be said against the interests of the Company, for there were many Gentlemen present perfectly ready to answer every point.*]

Mr. *Hume* resumed, by stating that, if he had made use of a single irrelevant fact, he really did not know it—he had endeavoured to combat, with facts and arguments, those fears and doubts which had been conjured up. If any dread was indulged from the escape of a few runaways, what could we think of that government, which had upheld our interests against the designs of France and of the native powers, if we now conceived it likely to be overturned by so contemptible a force?—It behoved that Court to consider the subject carefully and [illegible]ly—He drew a distinction between the Court of Proprietors and that of Directors, and wished it to be so understood. That of the former, he said, ought to be to secure to their country the greatest proportion of advantages, without sacrificing their rights and claims. In spite of the statement of Mr. Dundas, that the right to revenue had always been claimed by the

public, he was decidedly of opinion, in which he was fortified by the most able lawyers, that, by the 5th of Anne, chap. 10, and the 3d of Geo. II. chap. 14. s. 2, the revenues of India appertained to them.

By these acts it is provided, that though government should repay the Company the money they had borrowed, the Company should still continue a body corporate and politic, having all their territories, &c. secured. The Company's right he considered, therefore, as indisputable—being founded on the law of the land; but, although the government could not take the territories, yet they could take away the exclusive trade to India and China. Now, if it appeared that the dividends were paid by the latter trade, and they offered it to the Company—and it also appeared that the profit from the India trade had, at least, been problematical—he thought it was their duty to close with that proposition, which was consistent with the claims of the Company; and, when so great an interest was at stake, not to quarrel about a trifling investment. He hoped the Court would act as it did on a former occasion, and abstain from whatever might create irritation, and endeavour to procure what was most valuable, by permitting the public to participate in the India trade. He would rather that his Majesty's Ministers should have another opportunity of ob-

serving the moderation of the Court, and, therefore, he did not think the Resolutions proposed ought to be carried—the Company ought to consider what the consequence would be, if the Ministers were supported in this measure by the country at large. They had no right to expect that the Representatives of the nation would not defend the interests of the people with which they were entrusted, although the members of the Common Council for the city of London had already prejudged the cause, and expressed their determination to oppose the measure, right or wrong.

Sir *T. Metcalfe* spoke to order. He could not permit the patience of the Court to be abused, by listening to a libel on the Common Council for the City London, who were doing every thing in their power to serve the Company. He could not permit the honourable Proprietor to accuse them of betraying the confidence of the people at large, without noticing it. On this particular point he (Mr. Hume) had transgressed all bounds; and, on many others, he had gone much too far.

Mr. *Hume* resumed.—It was not his intention to give offence; he merely stated what had been expressed by those gentlemen in their advertisements. If he had erred, he was the first to apologize. If the facts he had stated were correct, it behoved the Court seriously to consider whether

they would agree to a long string of hostile resolutions. With the permission of the Court, he would propose a Resolution founded on that of 1793, as an amendment. The Court ought to look to the interests of individuals, and the benefit of the public, which he maintained were perfectly compatible, and act a firm and temperate part. But there was a vast distinction between violent opposition, and temperate firmness. He then moved that all the words after the word "that," be omitted, and the following be substituted:

"This Court deeming it prudent and proper to acquiesce in the principles and preliminaries stated by his Majesty's Ministers, through the President of the Board of Control, in the papers laid before the Court, respecting the renewal of the Company's Charter, with certain provisions in favour of the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, and the Outports of these realms;"

"RESOLVED—That it be referred back to the Court of Directors, to continue their negociation for the carrying those principles into effect; this Court relying on due attention being paid to secure to the Company as great advantage in their commerce, as is consistent with their claims upon the public, and the prosperity and interests of the country at large; and for that purpose, by proper regulations, to guard against the mischiefs that

might arise from disputes in India, or in England, between those engaged in commerce; to protect the Trade from smuggling; and those consequences which are now dreaded by a departure from the present established system; and, particularly, to prevent the residence or interference of Europeans in any part of India, so as to endanger the Company's Government there, in their exclusive administration of the territorial possessions which they now have, or may hereafter obtain, as well in their revenue as in their individual and military departments.

"That the Directors be instructed to endeavour to obtain from his Majesty's Ministers, a guarantee to the Proprietors for their stock, capital, and dividends, in case they should take the territories under their management: and that as the Company consider themselves as guardians of the prosperity of the empire in India, and protectors of the liberty and happiness of the millions who live under their government; reposing confidence in the ability of their Directors and the wisdom of the Legislature, that every possible safeguard will be provided to prevent danger to the empire, and injury to its people."

Prior to the Amendment being seconded,

Mr. *Whitshed Keene* rose, and spoke at considerable length; but, from the weakness of his

voice, much of his speech was inaudible. He said, that although near fifty years had elapsed since his name had appeared on their books as a Proprietor of India stock, yet he had never spoken in that Court before. This had been occasioned by two causes; first, the consciousness of a feeble voice, and, still more, the consciousness of feeble talents, which did not enable him to say any thing worthy their attention; but he apprehended the question then before the Court, consisting of the proposition which his Majesty's Ministers were pleased to say they would recommend, though compressed in a very few lines, was yet so pregnant with circumstances, that if every gentleman who had delivered his opinion on it had continued the discussion for hours, still some points worthy of remark would remain. He had listened with great attention to the Gentleman who had just sat down, and who had thrown all the light in his power on the subject, and investigated it in a commercial and political point of view. Previous to that, however, he had entered into a panegyric, honourable in the highest degree to that great Company, both in India and England, in every word of which he most perfectly concurred, being persuaded, that whatever irregularities might have marked their first territorial accessions, when the Company became

a substantive body, they entirely ceased. From the time that Lord Cornwallis improved the salaries of the agents in India, which before that period were so small as to induce individuals to have recourse to illicit means of making profit, and introduced a liberal and judicious policy; from that time, he was convinced, the purity of the Company's Government, both at home and abroad, had been surpassed by none in the world. Agreeing with the Hon. Gentleman, as he did, on those points, he was inclined, notwithstanding the detail he had gone into, to think that the conclusion to be deduced from them was very different from that which he had drawn.

Although he had not been much accustomed to examine the details of financial and commercial measures, yet he had not been inattentive to transactions, at home and abroad, for the last thirty-five years. He by no means wished to detract from the ability and firmness of mind displayed by Ministers on the present occasion; but he must remark, that looking to the liberty of exporting a certain quantity of goods which the Company conceded in 1793, and the additional facility *granted by licence in* 1802, the principles on which the Ministers of that day acted, appeared directly opposite to the motives by which his Majesty's present Ministers seemed to be influenced: in proof of this, he would

read an extract form an authentic record which he held in his hand—[Mr. KEENE *here read an extract from a letter written in* 1800, *by Mr. Dundas, to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors, in which the exclusive commercial privileges of the Company are advocated, and the necessity of their retaining the Government of the Indian Empire is strongly enforced.*] This statement, he acknowledged, had made a very deep impression on his mind, and whatever respect he might have for the talents of His Majesty's present Ministers, he could not help thinking, that they had failed to invalidate these arguments.——He would not follow the hon. gentleman (Mr. Hume) through all his commercial details, for there were many Proprietors, whose attention, he could have no doubt, had been drawn to them. But, though he was not calculated to enter into those minute statements, yet he would be allowed to form an opinion of the results that might be expected from the change now proposed. He should be very sorry to alarm the country by noticing any remote or visionary danger, but there were some circumstances which he felt it was his duty to state. That great Company had very justly expatiated on the magnificence of their establishments; the enlarged scale of their shipping; and the bene-

fit the navy had derived from them: they had dwelt on the number of persons in their employ, and various other points, of minor importance, to a commercial body of men. Now, he thought the channels of trade could not be directed from so immense a body, without producing much injury, and could only be justified by the vital interests of the country being at stake, and a certainty that we should be benefited by the change.

He said, he knew not whether it was generally understood that, in time of war, the royal docks were not sufficient to repair the wear and tear of our fleets. Now, it was known, that, according to the present establishment of the India Company, the River Thames was a great naval arsenal, and, were the Company to be considered as a naval power, they would have a right to rank as the third in Europe. They were calculated to supply that number of ships which the royal yards could not do; and they were capable of sending out five or six ships of the line to aid the royal navy. If the country were deprived of these advantages, the consequences would be most serious. And, in his opinion, such would be the operation of the proposition which had been made for granting the outports the liberty of importing from, and exporting to, every part of the Indian empire. Some persons said, that if

the shipping was taken from one part of the country, it would find its way to another: but the ports of Bristol and Liverpool were not qualified to admit such vessels as those employed by the East-India Company—their waters would not permit it. The effect then would be to destroy the great naval arsenal of the Thames, without furnishing an equivalent. Perhaps the petitioners would not be so eager to break up that naval arsenal, if they knew the immense expense which must be incurred to form another. He recollected a petition being presented to the House of Commons, from persons interested in the formation of a naval arsenal, at Milford Haven—no part of Britain affords greater facilities for dock-yards, &c. but it was found that it would be necessary to have fortifications there, and a garrison to defend it; and these considerations put an end to the project, however good in itself. Portsmouth and Plymouth were guarded in like manner; but the naval arsenals of the River Thames, were equally serviceable, without the accumulated expense. These things struck him as very important, and decided his opinion on the subject.

The petitioners from the outports, who claim an unrestrained commerce, complain that the monopoly of the East-India Company is an encroachment on the rights and privileges of

the people: Now, there was no man more inclined to support their rights than he was; but he would not be actuated by any specious reasoning to sacrifice the interest of his country to a misapplication of that principle. The present abridgement of the right of an indiscriminate Indian traffic, he felt convinced was most necessary, and its advantages were infinitely greater than its inconveniences. All laws were made for the well-being of society; by them our natural rights are, to a certain degree, restrained: but order and harmony are the result. They were all sensible of the benefits which the East-India Company had poured on the nation, and, influenced by that knowledge, he *did* think it ill became the country to tolerate such a clamour.

He declared that though he had not much to do with commerce, and was not qualified to judge on affairs of that description, yet, from his own knowledge, it appeared to him morally impossible that the petitioners could benefit by participating in the trade of the Company. The advantage which the Company derived from long established intercourse with India, from a mature experience in the manners and customs of the people, and from the excellence of their commercial arrangements, must give them an infinite superiority over other merchants. It was

not his intention to enter into a discussion of the moral effects which the proposed alteration would infallibly produce, and which were certainly of the utmost moment. He should merely observe, that the measure, if acceded to, would not be less injurious to the state than to the East-India Company. The hon. gentleman concluded by moving the question of adjournment, till the following day.

Mr. *Hume* said, he should be glad to know, why his amendment, which was regularly seconded, had been handed back from the chair.

Sir *Hugh Inglis* answered, that the amendment moved by the honourable proprietor had been handed up from the chair, and the question was asked, 'Is it seconded?' to which no answer had been returned. It was handed up when the honourable proprietor (Mr. Keene) was far advanced in his speech.—The question of adjournment had been since moved and seconded, and took precedence.

Mr. *Randle Jackson* stated, that he and several gentlemen about him had partaken in the error which had occurred.—The amendment, when handed up, was seconded by Mr. Lewin; he himself, however, requested the honourable gentleman (Mr. Hume) to withhold it for a time, as Mr. Keene had begun his speech. He was

desirous, among the many other claims they had on the favour of the public, to add those of candour and liberality, towards every party, in every quarter, who might conceive it proper to raise a voice against them. And he should have risen, immediately after the honourable gentleman, to have answered him, to the best of his ability, and he thought he could have answered him effectually, but he was anxious for every person who took that side of the question, to be courted and invited to deliver their sentiments. He renewed that invitation. Let every gentleman attend in his place, and declare his sentiments with freedom and frankness, as that gentleman (Mr. Hume) had done. He should be sorry if any feeling of interest could make them forget that they came there as British citizens, not as mere proprietors of East India stock. He hoped the question of order would not prevent a decision on the amendment.

Mr. *Hume*, said, he wished the amendment to lie on the table, for decision at a future time.

Sir *H. Inglis* stated that it was for the Court to consider whether the amendment was not such as should now be decided? He was sure it was not fit to lie long on the table, without a decision. The honourable gentleman be-

gan his speech with a panegyric on the East India Company and their establishments; but the whole tenor of his observations was to destroy the only power the East India Company possessed to support those establishments. On two points touched by the honourable gentleman, he should make a few remarks. The first was *Indigo*. The honourable gentleman did not seem to recollect, that Indigo formed a large item in the early establishment of the Company. They gave it up for the purpose of encouraging the trade in our American and West Indian colonies. When America separated from the mother country, and Indigo was not grown in the West Indies, by the fostering care of the Company, the Trade was renewed in the East, and Europe was now supplied from India; but it was owing wholly to the exertions of the Company. They encouraged it, and under their auspices the private merchants carried it on. Another article of import mentioned by the honourable gentleman (Mr. Hume) was Cotton. But he had not told them how the merchants had fared.—Did they benefit by the importation? No, they did not;—what was imported in 1810, was then, in 1813, still locked up in the Company's warehouses.

After some further conversation, Mr. Keene withdrew his motion of adjournment—the amend-

ment was ordered to lie on the table—and the Court, adjourned to Friday, Jan. 22.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 22.

The Court assembled at twelve o'clock, pursuant to adjournment.—The proceedings of the last Court having been read,—The Chairman (Sir *Hugh Inglis*) stated, that the Court was met, by adjournment, to take into farther consideration the papers recently laid before it, on the subject of the renewal of the Company's charter. As Parliament would meet early in next month, it was most desirable that the Court of Directors should be furnished, before that period, with their decision on this important question; he therefore earnestly hoped that they would come to a decision this day. Since the last meeting, he had heard from the *Earl of Buckinghamshire* in consequence of something which had passed in that Court, on Tuesday last. He believed the shortest and best way to bring it before their notice, was to read the letter as part of his speech; indeed it was the only regular way in which it would come before that Court. [*He here read the letter, for the purport of which vide Appendix.*]

Sir *Hugh Inglis*, in continuation, declared, that he apprehended this letter ought not to interfere with the main debate. The question now before the Court was the original motion, and the amendment, which had been moved on it. If any gentleman wished to speak on the subject of the letter, an opportunity would offer hereafter. But really he did not see it was necessary at the present moment. What was stated, on a former occasion, by the hon. proprietor (Mr. Davis), had been replied to, by the noble lord, in a very satisfactory manner; That the circumstance took place, he did not doubt—any more than he did its having escaped his lordship's memory.

Mr. *R. Jackson* said, the hon. gent. (Mr. Davis) was very desirous to state, that the circumstance alluded to in his lordship's letter, was not the same to which he had referred; and which was mentioned, not from any disrespectful motive, but as an occurrence in which the interference of his lordship was highly honourable to his feelings.

Mr. *Robert Grant* then rose, and was called to by the chair. There was also a general call among the proprietors upon that gentleman; he, however, gave way to

Mr. *Davis*, who said, that he felt very much obliged for the indulgence they gave him:

—he was unwilling to address them, this day, and would not trespass on their time, after the patient attention with which they honoured him on Tuesday last, but that the letter of the noble lord demanded an explanation from him.

Some time ago, he contended in the Court, that, in his humble opinion, the trade to India was then as open as it could be, beneficially to the public and serviceably to the state. And his opinion was founded on this, that, in the last ten years of his life, he could have shipped through the medium of the East India Company, 5000 tons more than he really did ship. He knew the act specified 3000 tons, but he also knew he could have gone to their shipping clerk, and, if he paid for the freight, he could have got 5000 tons additional. Knowing that 5000 tons could thus be obtained, and that 3000 were not occupied, he concluded that the trade was open to all good purposes. The answer was, the trade is open, but the freight is so high that no prudent man can ship goods. This was what he had to contend against, and he adduced two instances to prove the truth of his opinion. If they had favoured him with a hearing of three or four hours, he could have quoted many more. *(Laughter)* The proofs were these—last season, at Calcutta, thirty ships belonging to the Company could not dispose of

their cargoes; a petition was drawn up and signed by the captains of these ships, calling on Lord Minto to remit the customary duties, because the market was so glutted, that they could not get rid of these goods. He then went back, as far as he could, about 17 years since, to the year 1795; he was then at Madras, and remembered when the *Rodney* arrived there: soon after her arrival, Lord Hobart, now Earl of Buckinghamshire, found it necessary to order her return to England; she had on board an investment amounting to £12,000, composed of various articles, Manchester goods, Yorkshire cloths, and Sheffield and Birmingham ware. The investment was divided into two parts, £4,000 worth of the goods being intended for the Madras market, the remaining £8,000 for that of Bengal — The quantity intended for Madras was sold; but, when the vessel was ordered back to England, it threw the additional £8,000 on the market. Neither shop nor store-keepers would buy the goods. The captains strove to retail them; a sort of business he did not like to witness—for he would rather see them Commanders or Sailors, than Chapmen or Hawkers. The Earl of Buckinghamshire met the Captain, (Carruthers) at a private party, at the house of a Mr. Chase, and very kindly offered to transmit his money through the Company's treasury. But,

as he said before, there was no money to be procured. The next scheme devised was a lottery, for the purpose of relieving the Captain from his difficulties. And he believed that a copy of the very subscription paper was then at his house in the country, but of this he was not sure. He applied lately to Capt. Carruthers, however, on the subject, and received the answer read to the Court on Tuesday last, and which he again produced. [See debate of Tuesday, page 10.] Speaking from memory, he assured the Court, on the honor of a gentleman, he was convinced the name of Lord Hobart stood at the head of that list. When his Lordship mentioned the case of Captain Hunt, he stated another circumstance in favour of his argument; for it appeared that he was also distressed.—He was influenced by no private motive: if the trade were thrown open it might rather serve him; but he was desirous that the manufacturers of the country should not be misled: He was desirous that they should not be ruined by speculators: who, having made their experiment, and failed, would throw all the *onus* on the Company, if their danger was not fairly described to them.

Sir Hugh Inglis believed the Court perfectly satisfied with the explanation given by the hon. proprietor, and urged the Court to proceed with

the debate on the subject of the amendment that had been proposed at their last meeting.

Mr. Morris said, he was not prepared to speak at large on this occasion, but wished to be indulged with a remark on an hon. proprietor's (Mr. Hume) quotation, in support of his argument, for an open trade. He professed to have quoted from Mr. Colebrook; that quotation, however, did not belong to Mr. Colebrook; it was extracted from a joint production of Mr. Lambert and Mr. Colebrook. The former gentleman was one of the most speculative merchants in Calcutta; but it was not certain that his speculations were so successful as to attach any great importance to his opinion—nor did he think him a person to whom the Court should look for a sound opinion. *(Hear! hear!)* He was certain that the exports of this country could not be increased by opening the India trade, and that it was the grossest delusion to hold out such expectations. What would be the result if the petitioners obtained their demand? Their hopes being disappointed, would they not come back to the Ministers with redoubled clamour? Would they not exclaim, "you have been the aiders and abettors of our delusion;—you, whose justice and wisdom should have checked our career,—your compliance has ruined us;"—and

would they not call for a remuneration? What then would be their new request?—"give us some part of the China trade, we know *that* at least is beneficial:"—for the Court must be aware, that those obliging gentlemen had offered to take that trade likewise out of the hands of the Company. The hon. gentleman said that reserving the China trade was a boon; he could not see it in that light. They should go to Parliament, relying on the wisdom and equity of their cause, and on that alone; and if they could not make out that cause as a right, he, for his part, should disclaim the receiving it as a favour.

No man could doubt that these encroachments would increase, if not strongly opposed, till the utter ruin of the Company was effected. But he did not believe, whatever the information of the hon. gentleman might be, that the Ministers were so steeled by the representations of the petitioners as to shut their eyes against the dictates of justice and policy.

That gentleman had told them, too, with much *sang froid*, that they might curtail their establishments; but the vital interests of the country were so intimately interwoven with the prosperity of the Company, that the one could not be affected without injuring the other. What was the situation of India now? Had not Lord Minto told them that they were without a rival, and without

a foe in that country; that all was peaceable and quiet? Yet it was at this moment, when they stood on such a proud eminence, that they were called upon to make this dangerous experiment, which, he was convinced, could produce no possible good to the petitioners, but would certainly ruin the great emporium of commerce, *the city of London;* and every thing valuable to the Company, would probably fall with it. He spoke from the situation of this country at present; and as truth, equity, justice, and sound policy were in their favour, he trusted Ministers would be influenced by them all.

He hoped the subject would be properly discussed, and trusted they should not be told, *sic volo, sic jubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas,* on which principle the Earl of Buckinghamshire's letter appeared to have been written. The noble Lord seemed to think there was no alternative; but the nation had an alternative, and the privileges of the Company must be renewed unimpaired and unshaken, because they were founded on the basis of justice and policy, and because the interests of the Company were closely interwoven with the essence of the constitution. Let Ministers but place their unhallowed hands on one single brick of this vast edifice, and the whole would fall to the ground. *(Hear! hear!)* Ignorant men

might destroy that fabric which was reared by wisdom; they might pull down that building which it had taken ages to erect, and which had added to the strength and beauty of the empire; but, he asked, was such ruin to be occasioned by a set of adventurers, who laboured under the grossest delusion? For it was physically impossible, from the constitution of India, that the consequences of opening the trade could be any other but ruinous.

At what moment, too, and under what circumstances did they make this appeal? They made it under the influence of calamity and distress; it did not proceed from sober reflection nor from the sound dictates of reason; they had not argued with coolness and deliberation. Those who were acquainted with the nature of the trade with India must be aware, from its climate and other circumstances, that its markets were continually fluctuating, and that the greatest losses were sometimes incurred. He would not detain the Court farther than to observe, that such were the policy and equity of their claims, and such the honor and wisdom of the country, that if they did not meet justice in one quarter they certainly should seek for it in another; he was one who felt disposed to place reliance upon Parliament; he looked with confidence to their decision; he knew of no corrup-

tion in Parliament, and he firmly confided in its wisdom for the protection of their rights and privileges.

Sir Hugh Inglis, addressing himself to Mr. R. Grant, observed that he was sure to be excused for having allowed the two honorable proprietors to precede him. The latter gentleman had thrown so much light on the subject; his arguments had been so strong and convincing that he should be sorry to have prevented him for one moment from delivering his sentiments. A feeling in which he thought his hon. friend (Mr. Grant) must participate.

Mr. *R. Grant.*—" Permit me to assure you, Sir, that you owed me no apology for what has conferred on me, in common with the rest of this audience, a very high gratification. I am extremely happy in having given place to both the gentlemen who have addressed you; to one of them I am particularly indebted for having most satisfactorily explained the circumstance alluded to in the Earl of Buckinghamshire's letter; and to the other, for having confirmed, both by the results of reason, and from the better warrant of experience, those arguments on which I have been accustomed to rely in the decision of this important question.—In obtruding myself on your notice for a short time, I rise chiefly for the

purpose of making a few remarks, I was going to say on the only speech which occupied the attention of the last meeting, but which is certainly the only speech on that side of the question. It will cost me some effort to make those remarks, which, however, I shall deliver with all the respect due to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Hume). He was pleased, on a former occasion, to bestow on me some high and very undeserved compliments; but I should still less deserve those compliments, could I purchase his praise, or that of any other individual, by the sacrifice of private opinion.

I am happy, Sir, to reflect that notwithstanding some disapprobation which obtruded itself towards the end of the hon. gentleman's able speech, he was, on the whole, heard with the greatest attention. I, for one, congratulate myself on having heard that speech, to which I listened with the most cordial satisfaction,—and, what will scarcely be believed, even its prolixity, if I may be allowed the expression without offence, afforded me great pleasure.—It has been reported out of doors, that the proprietors wished to stifle discussion, and were anxious to attain their object rather by the force of their wills than by the power of argument. I, therefore, in the name of the proprietors, thank

the honorable gentleman for having tried the experiment, how much of opposition, both in quantity and in quality, we could endure.—I feel much pleasure in looking to the spirit of the honorable proprietor, as it will tend to enlighten the public mind, by proving on which side candour and fairness are in reality to be found. I heard the professions made by the honorable gentleman of the utmost fairness and liberality, and I am disposed to give him full credit for the sincerity of his professions — but, at the same time, we all know, that when the mind is deeply imbued with a particular subject, it is somewhat difficult to maintain that standard of temper, by which, at the outset, we have determined to regulate our conduct. It is in the judgment of the country, on which side candour and fairness are to be found.

The hon. gentleman accused some members of having expressed strong feelings of indignation at the domineering language used by his Majesty's Ministers — But he cannot accuse any gentleman of having charged Ministers, as he charged the Directors, at the very moment, too, when they are throwing themselves on us for support in the arduous struggle which they have to sustain, with being influenced by a base and ignoble passion, for the patronage of the East-Indies. (*Hear! hear!*)

He was also severe on another gentleman, for having imputed ignorance to the petitioners from the outports. "I believe that ignorance *has* been shewn by them on a subject with which they necessarily could not be so well acquainted as the Company, but I have never heard any proprietor say, that the members for those outports, by a most scandalous dereliction of their duty, were sworn to vote for a particular measure, whether right or wrong. *(Hear! hear!)*

The hon. gentleman went into a variety of voluminous details through which I will not follow him, not because I would check this species of discussion, but because there are many gentlemen in this assembly better qualified for examining his commercial statements than I am. I decline following him, however, not merely because I am incompetent to the task, but because I think I can shew, in a very few sentences, that the far greater number of the facts he has adduced, are either totally irrelevant, or totally inconclusive.—The hon. gentleman entered into a very long argument, to shew the advantage enjoyed by the Americans in their intercourse with India, and for half an hour he dilated upon this subject. Now, Sir, the advantage which they possess over us is admitted in the Resolution before the court; but the honorable gentleman did not say one syllable on the only point

which that resolution leaves open, whether the superiority of the Americans arises from their commercial energy, or their neutral immunity. *(Hear! hear!)* As to the observations which he has made to prove that the loss of our commerce with the United States has been compensated by an increased trade to South America, it must be obvious to every mind, that though these arguments might be very appropriate, if we were discussing the merits of the Orders in Council, and the shutting-up of the trade with America, they are not quite so relevant when the question relates to the Company's Charter and the opening of the trade with India.

The hon. gentleman relying, as he expressed himself, entirely upon facts, has stated, that under the system of the Company a great increase had taken place in the trade to China, and this statement he has advanced with the view of shewing, if I understand him, that, under the system of the Company, the China trade cannot receive any increase whatever. He also enlarged considerably on the flourishing state of the indigo trade under the direction of the private merchants, aided by large loans from the Company; and the moral which he deduced was, that the indigo plantations never could have been brought to their present state of perfection by the Company, although his own statements most con-

vincingly shewed that they never could have been so improved *without* them. With a studious deprecation of individual examples, and a studious recommendation of average computations, the hon. gentleman favoured us with one or two isolated instances of adventure, on the part of private merchants, to and from India, and this, too, without stating the only point at all conclusive on the subject, namely, how these enterprizes succeeded. The hon. Chairman has informed us, that a part of the imports of the three last years are, at this hour, lying a dead weight in our warehouses. The hon. gentleman, though studiously throwing aside individual opinion, and declaring that he would found his statement on nothing but facts, laid, with respect to one part of his subject, the greatest stress on what he stated to be the opinion of Mr. Colebrook; which, after all, now turns out to be not the opinion of that gentleman, but of a person deeply interested in the private trade to India. With the same profession of studiously abstaining from opinion, with the same reverence for facts, he rested the whole weight of his argument respecting another essential point, I mean, the possibility of preventing illicit traffic, on the private opinion, delivered to himself in conversation, of an unnamed commissioner of the revenue. *(Hear! hear!)*

I could proceed with this sort of scattered remarks; I could make similar observations on many other parts of the hon. gentleman's speech, which I heard with the same degree of conviction as was produced by those to which I have alluded,—but I will decline the task, on this plain and simple ground, that, giving him all for which he asks, giving him all he contends for, the main question before us remains in all its untouched integrity. The question is not, whether the Americans trade more cheaply than the Company; still less, whether the Orders in Council proved injurious to the commerce of England; nor is it, whether we carry on the Indian trade at a loss (though I understand that not to be now the fact); but the question before us is: whether, admitting, for argument, that all these commercial evils, which the hon. gentleman has described, attach to the present system, are they not well worth incurring for the sake of avoiding those political mischiefs which form the single and the dreadful alternative? *(Hear! Hear!)*

Now, Sir, if on this part of the subject, I wanted a *prima facie* argument of great weight, I would depend upon the account which the hon. gentleman himself gave of the political system of India. A description in colours so fervid that even I, an ardent admirer of that system, could

scarcely have dared to follow him. Had I left the room at the moment when the hon. gentleman concluded his panegyric, I should have been satisfied that he was warmly with the Court of Directors on this occasion. I should have thought that when a system had so completely answered all the ends for which it was intended, even the smallest apprehension, even the most distant surmise, of its danger, would have armed all hands in its defence; that all parties would be ready to guard such an institution, from moth and rust as well as from violence and plunder, from tarnish as well as from decay. *(Hear! hear!)* I should have thought that a system of this nature would never be sacrificed, or in the slightest degree hazarded, for any commercial experiment whatever.

Protesting against the necessity of producing, more than *primâ facie* arguments on this subject, where those arguments have not been answered, I would yet cheerfully join issue with our opponents on the matter of fact. Reviewing the correspondence with His Majesty's ministers, what is the state of the argument? The Directors say, it is impossible for the Company to conduct its important political functions without the profits of the China trade, by which they are at present supported. Ministers admit this fact.

The Directors then assert, that, if the proposed regulation should produce a defalcation in that fund, the measure must be wrong; and this too is admitted by ministers. The directors next proceed to shew, that it must have that effect. The government give a vague denial, and ask for more discussion. With this the directors comply, and support their case by the most cogent reasoning, requesting that, if their reasoning is still to be set aside, it may at least have a more explicit answer. The reply of Ministers is, that we are at full liberty to hunt for an explicit answer in the Journals of the House of Commons. *(Hear! Hear!)*.

Sir, there is a two-fold view of this question, which is very important. First, from the facilities of smuggling tea under the new system, the profit being no less than 95 per cent. on the sale-prices, and from the great opportunities afforded by the vast range of islands, termed the Eastern Archipelago, where tea can easily be procured, the great argument is, that the monopoly of the China trade will be shaken to its foundation, and, when that goes, all our establishments will go with it. Now, in this doctrine, have the directors gone on any new ground? have they advanced any thing hitherto unknown to mercantile men? why, Sir, Dr. Adam Smith, the great oracle of the advocates for the extension of

trade, but who, like other oracles, is not always understood by his own priests, has explicitly admitted, how difficult it is where strong temptation exists, how impossible in some cases, for any government to check illicit traffic. But I have a greater authority even than that of this great man; for great I certainly admit him to be, though considerably mistaken in all this business. I have the experience of the last few years.—Look to what has occurred during that time; you talk of "the seizure and confiscation of ships;" have even burning and death, been sufficient to stop illicit traffic, when the interests of men were powerfully stimulated by the hope of great eventual gain?

What were ministers called on to give us? They were called on to give us explanations as to those regulations; first, by which they intended to check the illicit importation of tea into this country, and into the other parts of Europe; secondly, by which they purposed to prevent the illicit shipment of the article in the Eastern seas. Have they done either? No,—they have given you two or three embryo measures, vague in the extreme, which do not effect the only points to which they ought to have been directed.—Regulations are vaguely proposed to check illicit traffic when the private traders come into particular ports in this country;

but what is to prevent them from running to innumerable points along the shores of Ireland and Scotland? But, besides, it is a most important consideration, that if the illicit shipment of the commodity may easily take place abroad, it is useless to talk of preventing it in this country, for those engaged in it will then find ways and means to surmount every difficulty. Now what have ministers said on this particular point? I cannot find in the Earl of Buckinghamshire's letter any thing on the subject, except an allusion to "the extension of the manifest act." What then is a manifest? As far as I understand the matter, it is a document stating the cargo and lading of a ship; to which document, however, it is essential that it shall be authenticated by the Custom-House established, or the British consul resident, at the port or ports where the shipment is made——Now the Eastern Archipelago contains a vast extent of coast; for it contains, I had almost said, a countless number of islands, some of which are larger than Great Britain itself. How many Custom-Houses are there? what British Consuls are established in those ports? An extension of the manifest act! Do Ministers intend to fringe the whole coasts of those islands with commercial stations and revenue Officers? If such a proposition were

made to them, its extravagance would occasion them to smile; but I say that they are guilty of infinitely greater extravagance, when, without any guards, without any securities of this kind, they are about to hazard the ruin of all these great establishments; when they would abandon the keys of this great trade to private adventurers, vainly flattering themselves that some unknown, yet-to-be-devised remedy, some scheme dropped from the clouds, some lucky thought of a future hour, will enable them to steel those adventurers against the powerful and combined influence of strong temptation and lavish opportunity.

As a last consolation, Ministers assure us that, if any defalcations should take place in the revenue, they are deeply interested in meeting them, and will afford every assistance to restore our dilapidated affairs. I believe them. Ill must I think of any set of persons, honored with the royal confidence, who would not, in such a case, do their utmost to assist us heart and hand. But my belief is, that it will then be too late; and it is no answer to me, to say, that they are sure to have the will to aid us, when my argument is, they are sure not to have the power. This is the result of their proposition; that they give us evils in the gross, and promise us remedies in detail. They suggest a measure where all

that is certain is bad, and all that is good is contingent.—(*Hear! Hear!*)

On this important part of the subject, I think the crude ideas I have thrown out, contain reasoning sufficient to influence my mind against acceding with this proposition, until I hear on the side of Ministers, some clear and explicit regulations. The great fear on the other point of this momentous question, is, that the increase of the trade between the two countries would also increase in a very great degree the number of private Europeans in India—an event ominous to the welfare and happiness of the natives, and eventually no less ominous to the peace and prosperity of the empire at large.

When this argument has been urged by the advocates of the Company, I cannot but express my surprise at the levity with which it has been treated—It seems considered to be an argument devised in order to serve a turn, the mere child of the exigency of the moment.—But can our adversaries be so ignorant of history?—are they so ill informed in the events of passed times as not to know, that the grand legislative problem which, for half a century, the Company have been endeavouring to solve, has been, to adjust the balance of intercourse between the natives and the Europeans resident in India? To this point

have all their painful watchings, all their care, and all their attention been directed; but at length, time, chance, opportunity, and industry, combined, have formed that establishment which the honourable gentleman has described as so profuse of advantages. A friendly, harmless, and peaceable connection has been settled between two nations, one of them the most adventurous, the other the most timid and pusillanimous on the face of the earth. It is what the philosophers and sages of old would have delighted to see—a perfect equilibrium between presuming strength and unresisting weakness.—(*Hear! Hear!*) Now, shall we be told that this system cannot be endangered by throwing an additional weight into one side of the scale? shall we be told that no danger can accrue from inundating the East with adventurers, who, from the manner in which they will go out, cannot by possibility be bound by the specific regulations now in force? Does not the burden of proof here lie on our opponents?

What are the arguments by which we are met on the other side? We are, in the first place, told, that we libel the character of the private British merchant, in supposing him capable of insolence and oppression. And with this topic of defence, is mixed one of recrimination;

for an injurious and contumelious deportment, it is said, is less to be expected from the private merchant, whose interest enjoins obsequiousness and civility towards his customers, than from the agents of a magnificent and Imperial Company.

To take first the argument of recrimination, I have only met with one attempt, to found it on a basis of fact. This is in a periodical publication, well known for its ability and abusiveness—the Edinburgh Review.—The document relied on is a paper written by Sir Philip Francis, then a member of the government of India, in 1783, describing certain disorders which had recently taken place; disorders, now eradicated, and for the very purpose of eradicating which, that gentleman wrote the paper in question. Why, Sir, this argument is born thirty years too late. We are told that a new system must be introduced in 1813, in consequence of a necessity subsisting in 1780. With just as much pertinence, might the author have asserted, that this country was now in the utmost commotion,—that this metropolis was in a state of riot and confusion, that its houses were in flames, and its streets in arms, and, as a proof of all this, have referred to the self-same period of 1780.—*(Hear! Hear!)*

But it is said, that we libel the character of the British merchant! Who, Sir, libelled that cha

racter? or where is such a slanderer less likely to be found than in the heart of this great metropolis?—a metropolis, of which may be said, and in a higher sense, what was once said concerning Tyre of old, "Her merchants are princes, and her traffickers the honorable of the earth"—Honorable, with better titles than those of rank;—princes, because, ennobling princely wealth by princely liberality.—*(Hear! Hear!)* I am convinced that the outports possess their full share of this valuable character; I am not, however, libelling that character, but the reverse, when I say, that the respected and respectable persons in question, are not a fair sample of the sort of traders who would go out to our possessions in the East, in the event of an open trade; still less, of those low agents and adventurers who might throng thither for purposes very different from those contemplated by the fair merchant. Am I not borne out in this statement by the history of India itself? Are there a more respectable class of men than the present body of private merchants residing under the Company's Government?—and yet is there any thing more true, than that in the time of Lord Clive, persons holding the same situation, being less checked than now, far removed from public opinion at home, and exposed to the strongest temptations that can act on

human passion or infirmity, were guilty of the grossest oppressions towards the natives? There is another fact still more strong, and which still farther illustrates my argument. Can any thing be more certain than that many persons connected with the slave trade, in this country, were most unimpeachably humane, upright, and honorable? and, on the other hand, can any thing be more certain, than that the lower order of traders embarked in that traffic, were guilty of excesses, at which not only their principals at home, but at which human nature itself would have shuddered? *(Hear! Hear!)* I do not mean to say that I understand the secrets of that trade so well as some of our friends, the outports; but I do say, the history of that trade is a signal warning to all generations, a signal warning to us, that we should not, with these facts before our eyes, out of respect to the valued character of a British merchant, compliment away the ease and happiness of so many millions of our defenceless fellow creatures in a distant country.

These are not the points, however, touched on by His Majesty's Ministers. I say, *touched on*; because all their attempts at answers are mere *tangents*, glimpses, not views, of arguments. *(Hear! Hear!)* We are told by the Earl of Buckinghamshire, that our objection,

arising from the danger to be apprehended by the influx of Europeans to India, comes too late; because the export trade which, as he seems to insinuate, we have conceded, will do all the mischief that we contemplate, and that we have therefore no right to make that apprehension a ground of objection to the allowance of a free import trade. Now, sir, it is rather more than I know that we *have* conceded the export trade. (*Hear!*)

If we have said little about it, the reason is, because it is of infinitely less importance than the other part of the question at issue. But mark their consistency. Ministers intimate, that we have conceded every thing by our supposed concession of the export trade; yet they acquiesce in the assertions of the outports, who contend, that the mere concession of the export trade will not send out a single additional ship or man. Thus our having conceded every thing is made an argument for our yielding to a fresh application, although it is on the very nullity of that concession, that the fresh application is founded. (*Hear! Hear!*)

The hon. proprietor used rather a different line of argument. He contended that the numbers who would go out to India must necessarily be bounded, because no man would proceed there, who was not actuated by the hope of

profit. Now, I confess, I must have been in one continued dream, through his whole speech, if the effect of nine in ten of his arguments, I believe I might say, the tenor of nine in ten of his propositions, was not to prove, that the hopes of profit in this trade, could not be calculated; that they were, indeed, unbounded. If, therefore, I am to accept it on his authority, that the hope of profit would be the measure of the number who would proceed to India; and if I am also to accept it on his authority, that the hope of profit is unbounded; then I have his own authority for stating, that the number of persons who would go out would also be unbounded. *(Hear! Hear!)*

The last reliance of the hon. gentleman was on the regulations of the local governments of India. On this subject I did intend to have made some observations. But the exhausting demand which I have made on the patience of the Court, renders it necessary that I should confine myself to one or two cardinal points. The hon. gentleman appears to have been guilty of a great mistake, in thinking, that because the balance of the Indian empire is perfect now, it would also be perfect after so essential an alteration had been made, as that which he recommends; though, according to his own idea, so considerable a change must be ef-

fected as would infallibly destroy the balance, by the accession of strength and numbers to one side. If, Sir, I even admitted the hon. gentleman's speculative argument, I would not allow his practical conclusion. I would not allow, because the government of India is a model of almost invulnerable excellence, that, therefore, we should put it to every stress and strain which it can possibly bear. From the merest tool of the lowest mechanic, to those great moral engines which are wielded by legislators and governments, it is the universal rule to spare that which is good as much as possible. I give the hon. gentleman credit for his wish to state every thing fairly, but, in point of fact, he has fallen into inaccuracies. When he called the attention of the Court to the police establishment of India, did he consider that the Indian empire is half as large as Europe? Did he recollect, that, within the range of the Company's dominions, there are two or three thousand miles of coast? And can he suppose that the *Chokees* placed in different and dispersed stations, throughout those immense territories, can effectually interfere to prevent the intercourse of individuals, when the motives that incite them shall be so excessively increased? I shall indeed deprecate the time, when our safety in that region, is owing to 150,000 troops, not above

20,000 of whom, according to the hon. gentleman's statement, are British subjects.

But instead of discussing at length this question, I will concede to the hon. gentleman all that he asks.—I will concede that what is now offered, and what may be done, will answer every purpose of averting the abuses to be apprehended from the free efflux of Europeans. I will concede that the private merchants, immoveably stationed at different points, will act with the utmost discretion and decorum. I will concede all this, and what follows? Why, you will be plunged in a new controversy, precisely like that, only somewhat worse, in which you are engaged at present. These adventurers will return to this country, and to Parliament, complaining, (probably with the greatest truth) that their speculations have failed. They will lay the blame of that failure on the still remaining restrictions, and will demand a further relaxation, on the abused ground of British liberty, and commercial right. You will again have the Ministers inviting you to frank and friendly discussion, only to close that discussion again, the moment that they find themselves out-argued — *(Applause)*. Again, the adventurers will say to Ministers, "Give us this, for you have hitherto given us nothing;" and Ministers will turn round upon

us and say, "Give them this, for you have already given them all."

One remark of the honourable gentleman deserves particular notice—"Why," said he, "will you not permit these persons to try their hands at the open trade?" This argument I have been surprised to find advanced by persons possessed of great political knowledge; but they ought to consider what it is that they propose. Do they remember that it is a political experiment which they are about to make? Do they consider that they are about to act on a living subject? I should have thought that the disastrous history of Europe, for the last twenty years, had read us a sufficient lesson on the danger of such experiments. I should have thought that such doctrines had been swept away in the carnage which they themselves occasioned. There was a time, Sir, when revolutionary France was desirous of bestowing upon this country a better constitution than that under which we live; Why did you not permit her to try her hand for a short time?—(*Laughter, and Hear! hear!*) Why did you not let those monsters loose upon our shores for a few years, as a mere experiment, on condition that they should be muzzled again, if they devoured you too fast? (*Loud applause, and laughter.*) There is, at this moment, a being on the other side of the water,

who has presumed to intimate, that he could furnish you with a better system of government than that anomalous compound of *oligarchy* and *democracy*, which you are apt to fall down and worship. Why will you not consent to let him try the experiment for a few years? I pledge myself that you will find him perfectly willing to be taken on trial.—(*Applause.*) Or if you are determined to try the particular experiment under consideration, be content with that part of it which will affect the constitution of this country; and leave untouched the constitution of India. Confer on your ministers an amount of patronage equivalent to that of India. Try how your liberties will thrive under an arrangement, which shall consign to the Cabinet the command of nineteen out of twenty votes in Parliament. But do not involve the inhabitants of Hindostan in your speculation; do not make them partners in the hazard. Do not purchase your ruin with their's, when you may be ruined for nothing.—(*Laughter, and applause.*)

Sir, the honourable Gentleman has told us that he would recommend indemnity for all those persons in the employ of the Company, who might be affected by the change. I believe he would even have them pensioned for life. If this were the question before the Court, I should merely insinuate, that, while we have the assurance of the

hon. gentleman, that he would give this advice to Ministers, and I doubt it not, we have not even a hint from Ministers, that they will take the advice when given.—(*Applause.*) Nor should I greatly blame the unhappy persons, whose interests would be sacrificed, if, in the contemplation of a change so fearfully menacing their nearest interests, they were to ask for some more solid security than the good wishes, however fervent, of the hon. gentleman. My object, however, in adverting to this point, is somewhat different. It may perhaps be practicable to indemnify the individuals in the employ of the Company; but if the experiment before us should carry ruin to the heart of the Indo-British constitution, how, let me ask, will you indemnify the natives of Hindostan? With what provisions for *their* relief will you crowd your statute-book? What reparation will you find in your pension-list for the ruined hopes and lost tranquillity of fifty or sixty millions of men? From what exchequer, from what financial fund, from what commercial gains, will you extract a remedy for the broken heart of an empire? I would not wish to conjure up imaginary terrors, or to shake in the eyes of ministers fancied alarms;—but I am sure I speak a language consonant with all that has been taught us by the

greatest masters of political wisdom, the deepest proficients in the history of man, when I say, that if the constitution of India *should* suffer the ruin which we apprehend, it will be easier for the British legislature to cover the whole face of that immense territory with their statutes of bounty and of indemnity, than to sow there again the seeds of that peace, order, social comfort, and political security, which will have been totally crushed and destroyed. *(Hear! hear!)* On these grounds I give my most sincere approbation to the solid and convincing arguments made use of by the Court of Directors. And, notwithstanding the ingenuity of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Hume), I hope that the Court of Proprietors will feel, and I doubt not they will, with an unanimity worthy the care and attention which they have bestowed on subjects of this nature, at former periods, and to which these walls can testify, the necessity of supporting their Directors, and of negativing the amendment before them."—[*This speech was received with the most animated applause.*]

Mr. Harris (of Reading) observed, that he felt it required no common share of hardihood for a stranger, like himself, to address this Court, and, more especially, after the very able and eloquent speech delivered by the hon. proprietor

(Mr. Grant) on the other side of the room. As he neither had nor could have any particular knowledge upon this subject, except what occurred from conversation and reading, he requested indulgence on the present occasion, as he had intended, though the hour was late at which the former debate had closed, to have offered a few observations on the speech of the hon. member on his right hand (Mr. Hume).

He should have said, that however ingenious his remarks, however elaborate his statements, they were not at all relevant to the question. He should have said, and he begged leave to say now, that these observations would have been much more applicable to a meeting of merchants at Liverpool or Bristol, than to one composed of proprietors of East-India stock—for if they were followed up, they would go to the entire abandonment of the trade of the Company. It *did* seem to him that the arguments went to give the whole trade to the private trader, because he (Mr. Hume) stated, that the trade to India at large had not been a gaining one to the Company.

In looking to the correspondence between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, he was struck with the ability which was displayed by their own executive body, and he took a very different view of the letter from the

Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the 13th January, 1809, from that of the hon. gentleman; that letter was the key-stone on which the whole negociation turned. It appeared to him that the rights of the Company were there so clearly stated and explained, as to do away every ground of opposition. He could not agree that the Directors were only successful on the military part of the argument; their statements on the subject of commerce were as well founded as those which related to the military establishment. In looking at the subsequent correspondence, his opinion was still more strengthened. His sentiments were those of an honest individual, uninfluenced by any sordid motive, his immediate interests being so small, that if he did not consider this a question which involved the best rights of the country, as well as of the proprietors; he should not have stepped across Leadenhall Street to have attended the meeting. *(Hear! hear!)* But he thought that the interests of the Company and of the State had gone on so well together, and were so strongly connected, that they could not be divided without endangering the safety of both. At least the idea of such a separation ought not at this day to be entertained.

The letter to which he had alluded appeared to have produced its proper effect on the mind of the

Board of Control; for, from the reasoning in that letter, and the subsequent correspondence, Government at that time seemed to have arrived at this conclusion, or nearly so—that it was prudent and proper to confine the import exclusively to the port of London, although they expressed their opinion that the export trade ought to be extended to the outports. He was not surprised that this conclusion was come to by the late president of the Board of Control, because the wisdom of the father upon these points might be supposed to have descended upon the son. And he could have wished that that right hon. gentleman had continued in the office of president till these important points were settled, for, since the period of his having quitted that situation, it seemed that Ministers had been so assailed by applications from the outports, that they had seen reason to form a different and new opinion.

The Company had therefore arrived at a most important juncture, and it was absolutely necessary that a decision should be made, without delay, instead of protracting the discussion, as advised by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Hume). There is no time to lose; the Charter is nearly expiring, or, as a great city orator said at a meeting for a different purpose yesterday, "the lease is almost out." With respect to the right which the Company had of

trading to India, it appeared to him from long established enjoyment they had, if not an absolute, at least what amounted to a moral right, to that privilege. It had been the custom to separate the political part of this question from the commercial: it had been said by the hon. gentleman, that it was better so to do, and that the trade to India might be permitted without endangering their political safety. He was of a different opinion, and could support himself by quotations from the greatest statesmen.—The hon. gentleman had fortified his opinions by the sentiments held by different merchants on the subject; and by the opinions of a gentleman in the Direction (Mr. *Bebb*), who was said to have made similar statements before the House of Commons. But if such were the fact, the hon. Director must have since found reason to change his mind, for he observed in one of the letters to the Board of Control, it was stated, that the approbation of the conduct of the Committee of Correspondence, in the late negociation, was signed by *every individual Director*. (*Hear!*) Individual opinion was sometimes of great consequence, and he happened lately to converse with a foreigner of some distinction, an officer of rank at present on his parole; as he knew him to have been in India, it was natural for him to inquire his sentiments

on the question, and the following were his words:—"Sir, I have lived and served in India twenty years, I have seen the principal seats of the Company's commerce, and my opinion is this—that if your trade is opened to the outports, as is now sought, the India Company will be ruined."

After such an eloquent and able speech as that delivered by the hon. gentleman on the other side of the room: it would be taking up time unnecessarily, were he to go generally into the question, he should therefore add a very few observations. It was asked by the hon. Proprietor (Mr. *Hume*) what had become of a considerable part of the profits of the China trade for a number of years past? He should be told that these profits, and much more than these, had been expended in East-India Conquests, not for the benefit of the Company, but for that of the Nation; not for the interests of the Proprietors, but for the aggrandizement of the Country. (*Hear!*) They were expended to dislodge from the Continent of India, and the Islands of the Eastern Seas, that man, who had been endeavouring to overturn all the existing establishments of Europe and of the world. Their valuable rights, therefore, although they were now proudly demanded by the merchants of the outports, should not be given up. They demanded, not a liberty to trade

to India, but to proceed to every part of our possessions, and to return to their various ports. They asked for this, not as a boon, which had been made the foundation of some of the petitions to the House of Commons, but they demanded it as a right, inseparable from the character of British merchants, who ought to be permitted freely to trade to every quarter of the globe. He feared he was trespassing on their time and patience, but it arose from his local situation, in consequence of which he had rarely attended the debates in that room. Another part of the surplus arising from the trade to China had been laid out in procuring some important articles of commerce, with which, but for the intervention of the Company, England could not be supplied. He had documents on this subject, but would not trouble the Court with reading them; and he concluded by recommending a continuance of the system of wisdom and firmness by which the discussions with the Board of Control had been hitherto carried on. The support he could give the Company was very feeble, but even the support of an individual was sometimes important.

Mr. *Impey* stated, that, as a friend to the East-India Company and to the system of Mr. Pitt, which had been carried on with so much happiness and success for the last thirty years, he was

glad that the statement of the hon. Proprietor (Mr. *Hume*), however prolix, had been heard by the Court with so much patience and attention. Without any knowledge of the private history or connections of that gentleman, he was sure he could not be very far wrong in considering his speech as the speech of the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Mr. *Hume* spoke to order—He never saw the Earl of Buckinghamshire in his life—he never heard from him. Therefore it was wrong to throw out such an insinuation.

Mr. *Impey* resumed, by begging the hon. proprietor's pardon; he meant not to give him offence. However, whether the speech delivered by him was that of Lord Buckinghamshire or not, was very immaterial,—certainly he stood up in the court as the advocate of that noble Lord—and his speeches were of such a stamp as evidently bore his image and superscription.—(*Hear! hear!*) Mr. Impey continued by stating that the hon. gentleman mistook him, if he imagined that he intended to throw any slur upon him; far from it. The Earl of Buckinghamshire and the East-India Company were at the bar of the public,—that bar was at present the court of proprietors, and it was right that the arguments of each party should be patiently heard.—A

great deal of praise was due to the hon. gentleman, for the mass of facts he had detailed, and the ingenuity with which he strove to apply them to the question;—he hoped that speech would be published and distributed among all those likely to take a part in the decision of this question; he was sure it would do more service to the interests of the India Company, than the best efforts of its most strenuous advocates. For if that gentleman, with all his industry and talents, could find no better arguments for opening the trade to the outports, a demand with which, if the Company did not comply, the Government of India was threatened to be taken from their hands—if *he* could furnish no better arguments than those which he had advanced, then the cause of the Government was weak indeed; —he thought the Directors might go to Parliament firmly depending on the justice of their claims, the effect of that speech, and the reasoning which they adduced in their correspondence.— Of *that speech* which lasted upwards of three hours, not one thirtieth part indeed had applied to the subject, and while they might admit and rely on those statements in it, which had tended to prove the wisdom and ability of the Company's Government—he besought them not to be led away by the wanderings of that hon. gentle-

man from the real question before them. The question was not whether the trade should be open to the private merchants, (though that was a most important subject) to which the greater part of the facts adduced by the hon. gentleman applied, —that question having been given up in his opinion, by the Court of Directors last year. Neither was it whether the merchants and manufacturers should be allowed to carry their manufactures from the outports to India; for that also had been arranged; but the question was, first, whether the whole import trade from India, which for two hundred years had come exclusively to the port of London, should be permitted to every other part of the country:—and secondly, whether if they did not comply with this demand, the Government of India should be taken out of their hands; for that was the alternative held out by the Earl of Buckinghamshire, unless they agreed to the proposed measure.

The hon. gentleman who moved the amendment, had complained that the Court of Directors had advanced nothing but opinions, and in answer to them, he had brought forward an immense body of facts, to which he had but one objection—that they were not relevant to the question. But the honorable gentleman need look no further than the motto of Tristram Shandy, to find that it is not

facts but opinions which produce all the troubles of mankind. The Court of Directors did not argue with Government as to facts, but about opinions. —They say, if certain measures are pursued, we think they will produce ruin to the Company, and Government are of opinion they can provide some legislative acts (they do not tell us what) to prevent it. There is a difference on fundamental principles, and if all the commercial facts from the beginning of the world to this time were collected together, they cannot bear upon the question.

If the Court were called on, at this time, to decide on any less important subject, he perhaps should not have thought it necessary to request their attention. But from the papers before them, it appeared that their very existence was at stake —the citadel of their strength was besieged, and the garrison was called upon to surrender at discretion. (*Hear ! hear !*) The letter of the Directors was not, as the hon. gentleman called it, a defiance to Government, but a manly and fair statement of the Company's sentiments. The question was, whether they shall desert their Directors at this moment, or unite with one heart and one mind to support them through the struggle in which they are engaged ? We are told, that all which is dear to us is at stake; the question is then, shall we give up all that is valuable to us, or make exer-

tions proportionate to the dangers with which we are threatened?

If it were at all necessary to rouse the feelings of the court of proprietors, the eloquence of the hon. gentleman (Mr. R. Grant,) who preceded him, would be perfectly sufficient. But he did not think it was necessary; every one must feel the crisis and be sensible that we were called upon to act in self-defence. All, he was sure, with one exception, were willing to coincide in the propriety of the Resolution: but it was important that they should be assisted to support it by the good wishes of an enlightened public, and that by the candid and explicit statement of their case, they should so influence the members of both Houses of Parliament, as to obtain a verdict in their favour. *(Hear! hear!)*

It was not every enemy of the East-India Company, who was so liberal as the hon. gentleman who has moved this amendment; it was not every enemy who would indulge in such panegyrics on that which he opposes.—Was it possible for any man to stand up in this Court and pronounce such an eulogium on the Indian Government, without perceiving how weak and how wicked any Minister must be, who would endeavour to overthrow such an admirable system for mere speculative commercial advantages? There was an ancient apologue—the contention between the different members of

the body and the belly, which he thought suitable to the present subject. The enemies of the Company had stated that they remained in a state of apathy in Leadenhall-street, receiving the wealth which the East pours in upon them, and making no exertions for the general benefit; this accusation was most unfounded. For if the matter be investigated, the East-India Company would be found disseminating her wealth abroad—encouraging the industry of the East, and extending thither the blessings of a beneficent Government. *(Hear! hear!)* Nor are the manufacturers at home less obliged to them, for if there is any manufacture which is suited to the East-Indies, they are in the habit of exporting it even at a loss. And, if, on the other hand, any articles of the East are considered fit for their use, they are carefully selected and imported for their benefit. The wealth of that great Company had been directed through various channels to the public good, and if the country had been able to make a stand against its united enemies, it was in a great degree owing to the support and assistance derived from that immense establishment. *(Hear! hear!)*

The question was two-fold, commercial and political; the commerce of the East, was certainly of great importance to this country, for it contributed between four and five millions annually

to the Exchequer. But if compared with the political part of the subject, it became a mere trifle. Politically considered, the question not only affected the happiness of our subjects in India, and the stability of our empire there; but the stability of the British Constitution, under which we have so long lived prosperous and happy.—In stating this question, the first proposition he should lay down, was almost considered as a political axiom, and supported by the greatest statesman of our time,—that it was impossible to transfer the government of India into the hands of His Majesty's Ministers, without a dangerous increase of the power of the Crown, and hazard to the balance of our own Constitution. This proposition was laid down by Mr. Pitt, in 1784, and on that doctrine he founded the system which has since been acted on for the benefit of both countries. So convinced was he of its advantages, that in 1793, after an experience of nine years, he renewed the Company's Charter for twenty years, on the same foundation. From this principle, he and those who acted with him, never swerved, and the late Lord Melville, at an advanced period of his political life, in a letter to the Directors, has recorded his opinion. That opinion has been read before, but it is so very important that I beg leave to read it again.

"In the first place," says his Lordship, "I set out with disclaiming being a party to those opinions, which rest upon any general attack of the monopoly of the East-India Company, either as to the government or commerce of India. My sentiments, in that respect, remain exactly the same as they were when I moved the renewal of the Charter, in 1793; and, if any thing, I am still more confirmed in the principles I brought forward at that time. That a direct interference by government in the affairs of India is necessary for their stability and uniformity, I am more and more convinced; but that the ostensible form of government, with all its consequent extent and detail of patronage, must remain as it now is, I am persuaded will never be called in question by any, but those who may be disposed to sacrifice the freedom and security of our Constitution, to their own personal aggrandizement and ill-directed ambition; I remain equally satisfied, as to the propriety of continuing a monopoly of the trade in the hands of the East-India Company."

Mr. *Impey* said, that on this part of the subject, the next proposition he should lay down, was, that it was impossible to take the governvernment of India out of the Company's hands, without creating dissatisfaction among our European servants, and perhaps destroying the allegi-

ance of the natives altogether; we must not forget, that the only legal title we had in India, was a grant from the Mogul, and though the power of the Mogul has long gone by, the natives still look to the name with reverence. On this ground the empire of India was formed; on this ground the Company made wars and concluded treaties of peace. Now if the natives were informed that the Company were no longer their governors,—who is it can say what effect might be produced? They did not understand, how should they? the complicated nature of the government under which they live—and a transfer to new masters, might put an end to their allegiance.—A long series of benefits conferred, has the necessary effect of engaging the human heart,—acts of kindness must insensibly win upon the mind and powerfully stimulate it to a grateful return. And he knew from the best authority, that the servants of the Company, as well as the natives, cherished the name of the East-India Company as we did that of our Constitution, because it was the source of their protection and prosperity,—and who can tell the consequences which might result from overturning it?

But though these were strong grounds for preserving the government of the Company, he should go even further; he would main-

tain, that if they had not a strict legal right to the territory and government, they had the strongest equitable claim that ever was established. India was conquered at their expense and risk, with the sanction of the authorities at home, and the natives had lived quietly under their government, which was admirably adapted to produce happiness, security and content. When he spoke of the conquest of India, he did not speak of facts which were long passed. Since the last renewal of the charter, the Company had expelled their ancient rivals and enemies, the French and Dutch. They have subdued their no less powerful opponents the Mahrattas and Mahomedans, and they had added to the British dominions the Cape of Good Hope, and the islands of Ceylon, Java, and Mauritius. All this had been done within the last twenty years. With respect to the second point, the good government of the Company in their territories, it was not denied; the hon. Proprietor himself (Mr. Hume) did not deny it; the most inveterate enemies of the Company had ceased to consider them as spoilers and oppressors. In 1793, Lord Melville declared, that under their sway, the Indian empire had attained a degree of happiness and prosperity which was never before known, and that if the British Provinces in the East, were compared with the neighbouring states

of the native princes, they appeared as a garden placed near the field of the sluggard. On these grounds they had established their right, and it was on a consideration of the just claims of the Company, that Mr. Pitt and his coadjutors had come to the conclusion which Lord Melville stated in Parliament, that through the Company the administration of the East ought to be carried on. Such was the unanimous declaration of Mr. Pitt's administration—Mr. Pitt and the men who acted with him, were great men, and their opinions had then, and still have, great weight with the public. To compare them with their puny successors, would be, indeed, comparing the greatest things with the smallest. It would be to compare *Ossa* with a *wart*.

Having stated their opinions, he should now advert to the opinions of his Majesty's present Ministers. The Earl of Buckinghamshire, in his Letter to the Court of Directors, says, "The expediency of adhering to that system, by which the Government of India has been administered through the intervention of the Company, is strongly felt by his Majesty's Government; but it must not be supposed that there are no limits to that expediency, or that there are no advantages which might result from a different course." Now he should be extremely

sorry to say any thing personally offensive of any Gentleman; but speaking of this production, as coming from a Minister, he must say that it appeared to him to be confused, contradictory, and unintelligible. It set out, in the first place, with a recognition of the principles of Mr. Pitt. "The *expediency* of adhering to that system, by which the Government of India has been administered through the intervention of the Company, is strongly felt by his Majesty's Government." So it was felt by Mr. Pitt. Now what succeeds? "But it must not be supposed that there are no limits to that expediency." This certainly appeared to him totally unintelligible; for, if it be true, that it is *expedient* the Company should still possess the Government, then the argument was in their favour; for it was to be presumed, that it would not be expedient to continue a Government, unless it produced the greatest practicable portion of happiness. I know not what his Lordship means, then, when he speaks of limits to this expediency, unless he means that the present Government is not an absolute model of perfection; and that a system could be set up, which might have some advantages which the present does not possess. And, from the last part of the paragraph, this seems to be his meaning—"or that there are no advantages which might result from a different course." But this appeared absurd in reasoning. For if it

were true, that the greatest quantity of happiness was produced by the Government as it now was established, then any other system could give only a *minus* quantity. It was setting up minor advantages, for the purpose of destroying others of the utmost magnitude.

But he should not rest on the absurdity of this paper. If it were true, that Ministers had devised any plan for the Government of India, capable of creating a greater quantity of happiness than the present system, let them produce it. Though we are Proprietors of East India stock, we are also Englishmen. What are our dividends, when weighed against the happiness of millions? If, then, such a plan be in existence, let them submit it to us, and we shall adopt it. But if, on the other hand, the present system has established the happiness of the natives of India, the security of our empire there, and the balance of the Constitution at home, let us not be sacrificed to the petty profits and doubtful speculations of private adventurers. Let not the East India Company be torn to pieces, and its limbs be sent to the outports as a *bonus* for the loss of American commerce, or the destruction of the Slave Trade.—*(Hear! hear!)* Let them look in other channels for remuneration, not to the destruction of the East-India Company.

But what were the reasons, what were the facts, which had been stated in support of this demand? Had Ministers been convinced that a larger import or export would take place? On what foundation did they rest their defence? The East India Company were totally ignorant on all these points. When these necessary questions are asked by the Directors, Ministers tell them that they are not bound to give any reason for their opinion, and that the Company must be satisfied with their decision. But if they were to be destroyed, it was but justice to demand, like the hero of old, to be destroyed in the light. Let us know who our enemies are. Let us behold the weapons by which we are destined to fall.—*(Hear! hear!)*

This he would assert, that if the Company were to remain in the exercise of the Government of India, the means to carry it on ought also to be vested in them. When Mr. Pitt first introduced the present system of Indian Government, he saw that he must put into their hands the instruments of Government, the sword and the purse; he gave them the military force, and the revenues. He also saw that they could not send that revenue to England except through the medium of commerce, and he therefore gave them what has been called the *regulated monopoly* of the Indian and China trade. In that

letter from which he had just read an extract, the opinion of Mr. Pitt, as well as of Lord Melville, on this subject, was very clearly stated; and, it was almost unnecessary to add, was in direct opposition to the alteration now proposed. The present Ministers had professed to adhere to the principles of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas; but in the course of this negociation they had, step by step, departed from it, until they had at length come to a proposition diametrically opposite. First of all, the Company were called upon to surrender the trade to India by throwing it open. On this point the Directors entered into long arguments, but as in the course of the negotiation the demand was given up, he should say nothing more about it. The next demand was, that the exports should go from the outports as well as from London. The Directors also state the danger of this, but being desirous to come to any terms not absolutely ruinous to the Company, they conceded this; and finally comes the proposition to extend the *import* trade to all the *outports*. On this subject the Directors have deliberated. They had stated to government that it was impossible to carry the measure into effect without ruin to the East-India Company.—The answer of His Majesty's Minister was, that "it remains to be seen whether some other mode cannot be devised for the government of India." Would the hon.

proprietor justify this? would the hon. proprietor tell us, that the Court of Directors were incompetent to decide accurately on the subject. They were men of great sagacity and information—men who had spent all their lives in the service of the Company, and what was more, a great part of it, in the administration of its government. Could he say that such gentlemen as these were not fit to form a correct opinion, or could he point out any persons whose knowledge of the subject was more extensive? The hon. gentleman tells us that the China trade enables us to pay our dividends, but the Directors have clearly shewn that if the India trade goes to the outports, to the extent demanded, it will be impossible to prevent the increase of the illicit trade, by which our commerce with China will be so deeply affected, as to cut off the resources for the payment of our dividends, and consequently to overturn the Company. On the subject of the illicit trade, what has the hon. gent. said? His opinion, it seemed, was founded on the statement of a Commissioner of Customs; and that opinion was drawn from what appears to him a very strange principle. The Commissioner said, "more smuggling occurred in the River Thames than at any other port." And why? Did not the India and China trade come into the Thames? but when they were taken away, the

smuggling must go with them. Now if the revenue boards could not prevent this illicit traffic with the trade under their very eyes, how could it be obviated when the trade should have been extended to all the ports of the kingdom, and all the islands of the Indian Archipelago?—*(Hear! Hear!)*

In such a posture of affairs, we must range ourselves under the banners of the Directors. There was an obstacle in our way on which we must fall down, if we did not overleap it.—Let us then look the danger boldly and manfully in the face, and we should overcome it. The Company must know the danger which threatens it: their opponent is mighty,—that opponent was the Government; strong, as it was necessary it should be, to perform its functions, in power and influence. But when he considered that this was not only the cause of the Company but of the whole Empire,—when he saw the great merchants of London pressing forward with petitions in their favour, immense as were their difficulties, he did not despair.—In 1784, the rights of the Company were attacked by a Minister, great in power, great in eloquence; backed by a majority of two to one in the House of Commons; and supported by the first families in the kingdom,—but they were united and ardent in their

defence, and he was defeated.—The East-India Company proudly stood their ground—but the Minister fell—a memorable example of the fate which ought to attend that *premier*, who would invade the rights of others for his own private and ambitious purposes.—*(Hear! Hear!)*

On this great occasion, they ought to follow the principle pursued by their predecessors; they ought to go before Parliament; they should remind them, to use the striking and appropriate metaphor of Lord Melville, that the East-India Company was the great wheel which moved the commerce of this country, and they ought to call on the Government not to divert the stream which turns that wheel.—*(Hear!)* We should point out the immensity of our transactions—all beneficial to the country. We should say, last year our exports amounted to near £2,000,000—our imports extended to three millions and a half—we paid into the Exchequer between four and five millions. Our navy comprises 100,000 tons of shipping,—we employ 14,000 seamen,—and in this great city 30,000 souls are dependant on us for their daily labour and subsistence. —*(Hear! Hear!)* When the Ministers see the East-India Company in all its magnitude and extent, they must hesitate before they determine on hazarding an experiment, from which evils the most alarming, in every possible point of view, must cer-

tainly flow;—they must pause, before they give their sanction to a measure, which only promised a contingent good, but would probably terminate in the destruction of the Company.

Entertaining the views he did on this subject, political and commercial, he was called upon to express his most decided dissent from the amendment which had been proposed. As to the resolutions, he thought they ran too much into detail.—It would be for the advantage of the East India Company if the principles contained in them could be stated in a few distinct propositions, fit for general distribution amongst the public, by which they could, at a glance, form their opinion. The great object was, however, *unanimity*;—no division should appear amongst us;—we should be firm, moderate, and, above all things, united in our defence.—Therefore, if any great number of Proprietors conceive that these resolutions ought to be adopted by the Court, he, for one, should not oppose them.

Mr. Horace Twiss hoped, that though in common with a gentleman (Mr. Harris) who had recently addressed them, he had not the honor to be generally known in that Court, yet the propositions contained in the amendment before them would, in some degree, justify him in obtruding himself on their notice.

Opposing, as he should, those propositions, he might be supposed to be bearing hard on the individual who spoke singly in support of them, and to whom so many hon. proprietors had already replied; but he could not help thinking that the hon. gentleman had made up in prolixity what he wanted in numbers. He believed that there had been no engine of misrepresentation, so frequently and so successfully used by the enemies of the Company, as the unfortunate word "monopoly;" they knew the word was unpopular, and attached unpopularity to every thing to which it was applied, and therefore they had had recourse to it. "We will," say they, "call the charter of the East-India Company a monopoly—and so we shall make the charter unpopular, and the Company unpopular, and every thing unpopular, except what is favourable to our own interests." This was all very ingenious, it possessed every merit which could belong to such a contrivance, except that little old-fashioned virtue, *truth*, and of this it did not contain one particle. And yet they were called on, in consequence of that accusation, to sacrifice the rights and subsistence of individuals, the strength and supply of the state, the labours of centuries which were past, and the hopes of ages that are to come. What were the

plain and simple facts, well known to this Court, and which ought to be known by the public, who appear to be ignorant of them? They were these: that for twenty years the monopoly had been given up, and shipping had been provided (even more than had been called for) to enable the private merchants to carry on a trade with territories conquered by the Company's arms, maintained at their expense, and preserved by their wisdom. *(Hear!)* It was for the privare merchants they had been doing all this, who now accused them of being monopolists. *(Hear!)* If they were monopolists, they were so only in the *expense*,—and whatever avidity the private merchant might shew to participate in other things, he seemed to have no idea of interfering with the Company's monopoly in that. *(Hear!)*

He would not take up much of their time in proving the positive folly of drawing a comparison between the increase of trade, which occurred after the falling off in our intercourse with America, and the sort of increase expected from the proposed alteration.—Though it might be argued that the course of trade would change, and that a new and advantageous commerce might be opened, between

states whose language, manners, customs, and religion were analogous—yet this probability ceased when they went to a country with which they had nothing in common, nay, whose climate, habits, and propensities were totally different. Was it supposed that the private merchants, by sending out a supply of goods, could at once create a demand for them? Did they suppose that they could in an instant effect what the East-India Company, with long experience, immense capital, and magnificent establishments, had been unable to execute? Did they believe, that they had only to visit the Æthiopian, and bid him change his skin? *(Applause.)* But it was contended that the facilities to the private trader were not arranged in such a way as that he could make full use of them. It was contended that the East-India Company had been in the habit of arbitrarily altering and raising the price of freight to the private traders—he believed that those who used this argument had not looked into the acts of Parliament which had been passed on this subject since the last renewal of the charter. In truth, the thing never had been done, and could not be done by the Company; for it was expressly provided in the act of Parliament, that they should not raise the price of freight with-

out the opinion of the Board of Control; and even when the latter had given their consent, the Court of Directors were compelled to meet, from time to time, and report on the existence or non-existence of those circumstances in consequence of which the rise was permitted. Surely no person would say, after a perusal of the papers laid before the Court, that there was any collusion between the Directors and the Board of Control. *(Applause.)* But when their opponents were driven from the ground of fact, they say, "let us take up the question on a broad and extensive basis!—Here are persons making a large profit by commercial intercourse with an immense country, from which we are almost excluded—they are mere tenants of a farm,—their lease is almost out,—and we ought now to participate in the benefits so long enjoyed by them!" Allowing this to be the fact, what did it amount to? Let them be considered tenants of the farm, and what was the answer?—they had been a long time expending their money in the improvement of that farm,—they had laboured to cultivate it,—they have succeeded in rendering it fertile, —and now they wanted a renewal of their lease, that they might gather in the produce of their capital and their labour. It was admitted that

they had improved the land; and was it just or equitable, that when they expressed a wish to derive the advantage of their industry, Ministers should turn round and say, "No! it shall be given to others; others shall reap what you alone have taken the pains to sow!" *(Hear! hear!)* The honorable Gentleman who moved the amendment, allowed that so far from there being any cause of complaint against the Government of the Company, it had been managed as well as it possibly could; even better, said that honorable Gentleman, in his warm panegyric, than the Government at home. Was it then to be imagined, that the private traders would be able to carry on that system *better*, which was at present supported as well as it was possible for any system to be? Or, were we not rather to fear, that if the trade were thrown open in the mode intended, the Indian empire would not be able to sustain itself against the ambitious schemes of speculators and adventurers.

The honorable Gentleman who spoke last observed, that the export trade no longer formed a part of the question, as it had already been given up. He could not agree in this sentiment, for the Court of Directors had not given up that ground, on which they originally relied. They

abandoned it, not positively and unconditionally, but with certain stipulations and conditions—"We will," said they, "give up this to you, if you agree to certain material points." Now, if this stipulation was not fulfilled, he maintained that they had a right to resume their original position, whenever they pleased. This justified him in the view he had already taken; but in the few further remarks which he should offer on it, he should confine himself to the propriety of restricting the trade to the port of London alone. Was it, then, a question between London and the outports merely? No, it was a question between the East India Company and the fair merchant, whomsoever and wheresoever, and the dealers in contraband traffic, throughout the country. This, however it might be disguised or evaded, was the true question. *(Hear!)* There was no person who had read the documents but would perceive that some extension must take place, though not so great as the advocates for a free trade might hope. But supposing the trade to be extended in the degree demanded, by whom would the benefit be enjoyed? Not by the East India Company; not by the fair trader; but by a gang of smugglers. *(Applause.)* The smugglers would virtually possess that very

monopoly, which, in the hands of the East-India Company, has created so much noise and clamour. If the propriety of continuing the trade to the Company were to be defended only on the facility of smuggling tea, which the proposed alteration must afford, that ground alone, he thought, would be sufficient to decide the question. An honorable Gentleman (whom but for his slight acquaintance with him he should be happy to call his friend) had plainly shewn, that all regulations for the prevention of an illicit traffic were futile and fallacious—and he alludes eloquently to the measures taken by our enemy on the Continent—"who," says he, "found that neither confiscation, burning, nor death, could subdue the exertions of the enterprising, when stimulated by the hope of gain." But, he might have stated a circumstance, which comes a little more near to their business and their bosoms: he might have stated that though the government of this country had tried every means in their power to prevent the exportation of bullion, at a profit of only *one half* per cent.; yet they had been utterly unable to keep the specie in the country. Now, if a profit of one half per cent. induced men to send our bullion to the Continent, what would be the effect, where the profit was

95 per cent. as it was on teas smuggled? It might be said that the private trader would not be permitted to go out to China; but it must be recollected that at Java, and other islands in the East-Indies, tea may very readily be procured; and though not so cheap, it is true, as at the fountain head, yet the greatness of the profit would amply repay the adventurer for the difference. It should also be recollected, that the Americans, who were not bound by any laws, and who had no qualms of conscience on the subject, would not scruple to supply the illicit dealer when they could make a certain profit by it. *(Hear! hear!)*

An hon. gentleman (Mr. Impey) had said, "we are now attacked in the citadel of our strength:" he liked the metaphor and he would pursue it farther. Suppose the governor of a town besieged, for a long time kept only one gate open, for his communication with the surrounding country; what would be thought of him, if he suddenly gave orders to unbar all the gates, North and South, East and West, and assigned as his excuse for so doing, that he meant to double his guards; thus creating a danger, for the pleasure of opposing it?" He did not like this double-faced policy; he did not like to give away

absolute safety for the sake of trying more cumbrous expenses and heavier establishments, which, after all, could not obviate the mischief. It would be as feasible to cry down vice by proclamation, or to prohibit disease by act of parliament, as, by mere positive regulations, to hope for the prevention of illicit traffic. He must be more than a Hercules, who could bind the fleeting streams of that golden current. And, however small his own information might be upon the subject, of this he was convinced, that if the Directors, who were the most competent judges, believed that these demands would really be of service to the country at large, they, and the Court of Proprietors, would be the first to adopt the plan, by acceding to the wishes of the petitioners. For, he was sure, they had been always ready to settle, fairly and candidly, the claims of every person opposed to them by a concession of every thing short of their duty as British subjects. He wished he could see the same liberality on the part of their opponents; but they appeared to be admirers of patriotism rather in others than in themselves. They did not seem to value that patriotism which was present, and by which, therefore, nothing was to be gained; but they adhere to

that which depends on the future, by which no loss could be sustained to themselves, and which might probably put something in their pockets. *(Hear! hear!)*

On the third point, the danger which was to be apprehended from the influx of adventurers to India, he should say little; for the papers before the Court had so decidedly and explicitly pointed out the mischief, as to leave no room for doubt. He was for preserving the rights and privileges of the East-India Company: but he was for defending them temperately as well as firmly: he was not willing to throw defiance in the teeth of His Majesty's Government. He only desired that they should stand proudly and manifestly in the right; and he thought it would be best to confine themselves to the immediate commercial question, without expatiating on any supposed designs of a political nature. Thus much, however, he could not but say, that if any farther innovation was intended, the present was a most inauspicious period for its introduction. When an operation was about to be performed on the natural body, what was the course of the skilful anatomist? Was it not, in the first place, to remove inflammation, and

to reduce the nerves to a state of repose and quiet? And what was the time selected for this perilous experiment on the body politic? When the public mind was inflamed: when we were pressed by enemies abroad, and appalled by distresses at home: when all was doubt, and difficulty, and danger, and irritation; but most particularly amongst those merchants who were now clamouring for a participation in the commerce of the East. He would not comment any further on their conduct; but, unless His Majesty's Ministers, or their advocates, should adduce stronger reasons than he had yet heard from them, he would maintain that these invasions, subversive of the Company's rights, would also be hurtful to the power of England, and detrimental to the safety, honour, and prosperity of the whole commercial world. The amendment had, of course, his most decided negative. *(Great applause.)*

Mr. *Plomer* said, he should have addressed them in the early part of the debate, had he not felt a consciousness of incapacity; but, on a subject of so much importance, even the smallest information might be serviceable, and, therefore, he hoped the Court would indulge him in making a few observations. The cause of the Company had for its basis, justice and policy, and in supporting that cause, he could not sufficiently admire

the candour and conciliatory disposition which had been displayed by the Court of Directors. If the question were to be decided by the good sense of the Empire at large, or by the weight of argument, he had no doubt what that decision would be. They had read the correspondence, and he felt that every point of reasoning advanced by the Court of Directors, had its foundation in truth and equity. If he understood rightly the nature of a Charter, it was an agreement between two parties, to do that which they could not perform alone. This applied not only to the East-India Company, but to the Bank of England, and other chartered bodies, where certain stipulations, founded in the wisdom as well as in the necessity of the case, were agreed to be performed by the respective parties. The East-India commerce was first attempted to be carried on by Individuals in this country; but though acting under the title of a body, they could not succeed, and that which is termed "a monopoly," but the propriety of which term he denied, was obliged to be conferred upon them. It would be found that our great commercial enemies, the French and Dutch, acted in the same manner. By them also, individual exertion was first employed in the India trade; but like us, they were compelled to alter the system, and to establish

Companies. What did the British East-India Company stipulate to do? They stipulated that the trade should be carried on, as beneficially as possible, for the state and for the community: and the government said, "so long as this stipulation is fulfilled, so long shall we renew your Charter." They all knew how far the Company had performed its agreement; and they should look to the state of its commerce. That which in its origin was a small brook, scarcely bubbling above the surface of the ground, was now a mighty river, fertilizing, ornamenting and increasing the strength of the Empire. And when they looked towards those who were Merchants, they would behold in them the sovereigns of India. In short, in all possible points of view, the just claims of the Company had been extended and enlarged from year to year. In process of time, the present excellent government of India was formed,—It had

"Grown with our growth, and strengthened with our strength;"

and so connected was it with the interests of the people, that if they were to destroy it, they would also destroy the country. From Merchants they were obliged to become Governors; and those who were at first the framers of their Charter, were at length compelled to become sharers in the

venture. If, therefore, the system was the work of prudence and wisdom, it was not only needless but mischievous, at such a period as this, to alter it.

He should now advert to a point which had not been so much touched on as it deserved. In the addresses from Birmingham and other places, the petitioners declared, "that their object is not merely to take a share of the Indian trade, but that they intend to settle and colonize in the East;" and they stated, that "they can see no danger from the most extensive colonization in India." Every one knew the danger in former periods, when the facility of proceeding to that country was not so great as it was now. Every one knew, that at that time it was very difficult to exclude French agents; if, therefore, with all those precautions, of which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Hume) had spoken so highly, it was found impossible to prevent French emissaries from entering those countries; how were they to be guarded against, when every precaution should be laid aside? All knew with what an evil eye the French had long looked on our Indian trade; all knew, that they considered it as one of the main props of the British Empire; and that to wrest it from us, they invaded Egypt, which they contemplated as the key of our eastern dominions.

No doubt it would be said, "every care will be taken to exclude improper characters,—you may for instance, have an exact description of every person who goes out to India." This was very true; but how were they to know, that he who was going out, under the designation of a seaman or an agent, might not be an enemy's emissary? As to the increase of their exports to the East, he was far from believing any such effect would be produced. All knew that a considerable proportion of tonnage was now appropriated to the use of the private-trader, (which was not taken up), and, even if more were wanted, it would be provided. But the fact was, from the customs and manners of the inhabitants of India, it was morally impossible, they should consume more than they at present did.

How far the fiscal regulations could be extended to the outports, to prevent smuggling, was a very serious question. The hon. gentleman who preceded him had stated, that a profit of *one-half* per cent. was sufficient to allure persons, (though with the rope about their neck), to export the bullion from the country; and, had they not a right to infer, that the profit on Tea, which was infinitely greater, would encourage a most extensive illicit traffic? But it seemed, the commissioners of excise and customs had given

their opinion, that all this contraband trade would be prevented ;—he should be glad to know how ? It would be as difficult to prevent smuggling, or to collect the duties on Tea, as they were at present collected, if the import trade was thrown open, as to remove all the Company's warehouses, from the City of London to Liverpool or Glasgow.

In speaking of the danger which this increased intercourse with India might occasion, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Hume) exclaimed—" What! are you afraid of a few straggling raggamuffins ?" He would not so designate the hon. gentleman's friends,—but, as they were so termed by their advocate and supporter, he was willing to admit the correctness of the term, as one of the few facts stated by the hon. gentleman—and own, that he *was* afraid, not of the raggamuffins, but of the mischief they might produce to the fair trader; of the injury they might do to the just and honorable dealer. *(Laughter)* If the persons making these demands were really respectable, and possessed a great deal of information on the subject, he should have applauded ministers for attending to them ; but they were not told who they were, nor were they acquainted with the arguments made use of by them. Instead of that, His Majesty's ministers say,—" Do you concede all the points under dis-

cussion; and then we will give you the reasons which render them necessary." He should be sorry that they took up this question on any but national grounds,—he desired them not to argue it, as members of that Court, but as members of the British Empire. Much had been said on the subject of the trade between America and India, and the former country was spoken of as deriving great advantages from it. An account, however, which he had seen, within the last two days, disproved this assertion. He had been told, by gentlemen conversant with the subject, that the trade was by no means useful to the Americans. Indeed, one fact had come to his knowledge, which supported this statement. A person took in a cargo of Tea, &c. at China, with which he proceeded to America, from thence to Europe, and back to America again, without being able to dispose of it, the market for many of the commodities, (cassia buds, sago, and various others,) being extremely precarious. The person from whom he received this information, told him, that the only chance the Americans had of making the trade answer, was by combining two or three voyages—Thus they would proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, and a variety of other places, on their way to India. Now, if the American merchant found it necessary to take this circuitous route, to make a

trifling profit, how would it fare with our own merchants, who are debarred, by the navigation laws, from such complex voyages?

He thought the manliness and wisdom of the Court of Directors deserved every praise—and that Court was bound to support them.—This could be done most effectually, in his opinion, by coming to an express resolution, combining perspicuity with brevity.—To the resolutions which had been proposed, he had only one objection, that they went too much into detail—at the same time that he perfectly approved of the spirit in which they were drawn up. But he hoped, before the discussion was closed, that some shorter resolutions, equally to the point, would be submitted to the Court; if not, the present should have his assent.

Mr. Randle Jackson said, that he had waited anxiously in the hope of some gentleman, on the other side, being disposed to follow the hon. proprietor who opened the debate, in order that he might, to the best of his power, have met any objections which could be urged against the Resolutions. He had been rewarded for his patience, by the ability which had been displayed in the discussion. They were told that their commonwealth was in danger; and he believed it, from the talents which had been called forth;

for it was a fact supported by all history, that, in times of peril, great abilities, which lay dormant till that period, began to develope themselves; and, till the hour of danger, the State was not acquainted with the intellectual riches which it possessed.—The question, before the Court, arose from a letter which had been received from the Earl of Buckinghamshire; in that letter they had been most flatteringly considered—the opinion of the General Court being there called for.* The noble Lord had treated the proprietors, as persons worthy of being consulted; as persons whose decision would and ought to have weight.—Against him the same complaint could not be made, which had been alleged against other Governments—he had not entered on this negociation, as if there were but two parties, the Ministers and the Court of Directors. However they might differ from him on other points, they must agree that he had acted with great propriety on this. He had called upon them for their opinions, and he hoped they would be as respectfully and candidly conveyed to him, as they had been fairly and directly required from them.

They were there met to decide on a most *dreadful alternative*; for so it undoubtedly must be considered. It was demanded of them either to consent to the imports from India being

brought to the outports of this country—or else what?—(Government could not be charged with having concealed or blinked the question)—some other means must be found of governing India, without the intervention of the Company. They were called on to consent to this proposition, naked as it was:—they were called on to consent to it, in the abstract, with all its dangers about it. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Hume) had indeed stepped in, and promised *indemnity*; but they must recollect, that "*he is not the administration.*"

He could only look to what was contained in the letter of the noble Lord, and he there found no such word as indemnity. The alternative was there explicitly stated,—"you must, by a certain day, agree to the naked, abstract proposition, that you will give up the import trade to the country, or India shall be governed by others." This must prove to the hon. gentleman who moved the amendment, that they were brought to the point—the aye or the no,—there was no middle course. They must either concede that which was demanded, or manfully and firmly oppose it. He was therefore prepared to defend the Resolutions, in opposition to the sentiments delivered by the hon. gentleman; Resolutions, which, though they had not been expatiated

upon by the hon. mover, yet displayed the genius of the inborn mind, which shines through the modesty and diffidence with which they were proposed—and every person who attended to them, must acknowledge, that the man by whom they were penned, must be a gentleman of no ordinary information and ability.—*(Hear! hear!)* An hon. gentleman (Mr. Hume) rose very soon after those resolutions were proposed, and, in a speech of considerable length, of which he remained an untired, though an unimproved auditor, he had advocated the cause of the outports. Much of that speech consisted of detailed numerical statements, to which he thought a distinct reply should be given.—Allowing all due homage to the transcendant talents which had preceded him, and which had completely succeeded in combating the general question, yet, he conceived, that if they did not overturn the numerical details of the hon. gentleman, he would depart the Court with "vantage ground," which he should be sorry to permit.—How much more unpleasant then, was his task, than that of the hon. gentleman who had already addressed the Court on the same side of the question, in performing this duty, on which their salvation depended, and how much stronger was his claim to their indulgence.

An hon. gentleman (Mr. Harris) had said,

that the speech of the hon. proprietor (Mr. Hume) was rather calculated for a meeting of Liverpool or Bristol merchants, than for the medium of the East-India House. He did not concur in this opinion—he did not desire to take any advantage of his situation, but to argue the question fairly and broadly. He was glad that it was unnecessary for him to make any declaration of his own feelings—all that affection could inspire—all that loyalty could utter—of veneration and respect for the East-India Company—had been already expressed, much better than he could have done it, by those who had gone before him. He felt himself *particularly* solicitous in his endeavour to answer the objections of the hon. gentleman—whether they were the objections of the Earl of Buckinghamshire he did not know; but he was sure, if the noble Lord had displayed as much judgement in his negociation with the Directors, as he had evinced taste and discernment in the selection of his advocate—(if his advocate was indeed of his selection)—it would perhaps have been better for the interests of the Company. *(Hear, hear!)*

The hon. gentleman (Mr. Hume) said, he disapproved of the Resolutions, as being matters of opinion, and not founded and bottomed on facts—and he brought forward a vast body of state-

ments and details in opposition to them. He could not but admire the art with which he commenced his speech, by defending Lord Buckinghamshire from the imputation of arrogance, which had been thrown out on a former day; thus ingeniously winning over to his side, at the very outset, all those, who, from public or private motives, in a court like that, were likely to be attached to the present administration,—by standing forth as the avowed defender of their characters from terms of disrespect.

"The letter of the noble Earl he must consider as the joint work of him and his colleagues; but as, in the House of Commons, all attacks were directed against the Minister, though they in fact bore upon the whole Government; so, in this Court, much would be pointed at the noble Lord, so often alluded to, as the President of the Board of Control, which more properly applied to the entire body of the Ministry. But in speaking of his Lordship, they must not forget that he was for a long time their faithful servant.—He doubted not that he still felt great affection for the Company; but, in the discharge of his public duty, had laid aside all private feelings, from the most conscientious motives. But they were bound to meet, and openly vanquish his objections and his measures; for, if they could not do it openly,

their case was not a strong one. With one exception, therefore, he considered the letter of Lord Buckinghamshire, as that of the administration; he said, with one exception, for he thought it was impossible that Lord Melville could concur in such an arrangement, after the sentiments which he had already expressed. He could scarcely believe that he would consent to remain a member of a cabinet, which could support measures so completely different from those which he recommended. He did not know that youthful Peer, but if he had that honor, he would beseech him to pursue the principles of his father, and to prefer, before all other advantages, in public or in private, an undeviating consistency of character.—*(Hear! Hear!)* If he had the honor of being acquainted with the son, as he had known and admired the father, he would say, "instead of abandoning those measures which you have approved, act on the principle of those great men, who have sacrificed every hope of power or aggrandisement, to consistency." He would remind him of those great living characters, the Wellesleys and the Cannings, whose names did not sound less harmoniously in the ears of Englishmen, because they left a cabinet in which they could no longer act

consistently with their known opinions.—*(Hear! Hear!)*

The resolutions, he admitted, were those of opinion; but they were less the opinions of the hon. mover, than of those celebrated statesmen, whose sentiments were embodied in them; and he must observe, that, had he drawn them up, he would not have said, that such and such were the sentiments of those statesmen, but he would have quoted their own words; that the public, who revered them, should recognize the language of those whose sentiments had always been received with the utmost deference and attention. The Court must be aware of this fact, that the late Lord Melville avowed, in terms as direct as possible, these two propositions:—first, that the Government was inseparable from the trade of India; and next, that the trade could be advantageously carried on, only through the medium of a well regulated monopoly.—These sentiments were supported throughout a long administration; they were practically enforced by Mr. Pitt and other eminent statesmen; and even adopted by Lord Melville, one of the present administration. Nor should he omit to notice the opinions of the Earl of Buckinghamshire himself, respecting all the dangers and all the evils which must accrue to the revenue, if proper

guards and precautions were not adopted. Thus hinting at the necessity of preventing that, the possibility of which he thus unquestionably admitted. In support of his opinions, and in opposition to the statement of the hon. gentleman, he thought he could not do better than by introducing, in the course of his speech, the sentiments of those great characters, whose names he had already mentioned. The hon. gentleman had not contented himself with the first proof of his ingenuity, in drawing over to his side all the friends of administration, but had endeavoured to insure still further success, by narrowing the real state of the question. He said, "it is a mere question, whether the outports shall or shall not be admitted to a participation in the import trade." It was his duty, as an ingenious sophist, thus to define it—but if that Court thought the safety of India depended on the result of the present contest, fortunately, they were not bound to admit his definitions.

Mr. Jackson contended it was a great political question, involving the safety of the empire, and that they were bound so to consider it.—That the hon. gentleman (Mr. Hume) thinks there is no danger, he must suppose, as he took it for granted, that if he believed the intended arrangement was likely to affect the Government of India and of

this country, he would not have taken that opportunity to pronounce such a panegyric on the present Indian system, which this measure, in their opinions at least, must destroy and subvert. He would not, if his feelings were otherwise, have added to the enormity, or rather to the celebrity of the murder, by so much eulogium; for it had very rarely happened, that any government had received such unbounded praise; though he believed the hon. gent. in bestowing it by no means guilty of exaggeration.—*(Hear!)* Nay, the hon. gent. had even hoped, so much did he seem to approve of the Indian Government, that "no radical change may take place in it;" but, while he made this declaration, it could be plainly proved that he himself had provided for a change in his own amendment; and it would be easy to shew the sort of indemnity to which the Company would be entitled, when the government of India was no more. The hon. gent., instead of joining the Court to *prevent* any "radical change," had proposed an amendment, in which an *indemnity* was recommended, when their political annihilation should have taken place.—He said, that, "in the beginning of the negotiation, we ought to have stated to Ministers the necessity of indemnity;" but was it not to be supposed, that such a subject would be introduced more properly by

those who suggested the alteration, than by them; they were [illegible]

Mr. Randle Jackson continued, by saying that he should state the reason why Lord Buckinghamshire did not notice that point; it was, simply, because there was no necessity for it:—it was a question of strict moral right; and that Minister had not existed for ages, who could propound a measure, utterly subversive of the Company's without, at the same time, recurring to indemnification. He professed his belief, that, if even *Jonathan Wild* and *his gang* were at the head of Government, they would not dare to make such a proposition, without accompanying it with the offer of a just and adequate compensation. (*Hear!*) Could any merchant of Liverpool, or Glasgow, expect to derive the advantages of the Company's fortresses, warehouses, &c?—could he expect to be protected by their armies, and to make use of their organized establishments, without affording a full indemnity? It would be a monstrous proposition; and therefore he should think the point required no notice. It was like the immutable principle of right and wrong; the *affirmative* was not demanded, because there existed no mind so base and so degraded as to imagine the *negative*.

One of the hon. Gentleman's first propositions related to the negociation of 1793. "The

Proprietors," he said, "were then called on for their opinion; they were requested by the Government of the country to express it in that Court." This was very true; but the hon. Gentleman admitted, notwithstanding the celerity with which the business was commenced, that the proceedings were afterwards delayed long enough to give the merchants of Liverpool, Glasgow, &c. an opportunity of meeting, and petitioning the legislature. "On that occasion, Lord Melville," said the hon. Gentleman, "was induced, by the force of these representations, to open the trade to a certain extent. He felt the necessity of transmitting fortunes made in India to this country, and the proper mode of effecting that object was by opening the private trade. His Lordship observed, that unless the Company consented to this modification, their Charter could not be renewed." But what support did the hon. Gentleman derive from this statement? None whatever. Indeed, it operated against his argument. From this very circumstance, it was apparent, that one of the greatest India statesmen this country ever saw, possessed of great information and experience, was impressed with a conviction, that the trade ought to be thrown open on those conditions which the Earl of Buckinghamshire was about to destroy. The whole extent to which

Lord Melville's principle went was this—that the opening of the trade should be under the cognizance of the East India Company; that they should remain in dominion over the persons who might chuse to embark in it; and who should send their goods in the Company's vessels, to the amount of three thousand tons, or more, as stated by a Gentleman below him. Lord Melville opened the trade with one hand, declaring, at the same time, that though he extended it, the system on which it was founded was to remain, as far as his influence could make it, a well regulated monopoly; and he gave his reasons both for the one and the other. The prosperity which India had enjoyed (not to be inferred from merchants' accounts, which were not always the true criterion of national greatness), the excellence of its Government, and the general welfare and strength which the empire had derived under it; these considerations influenced Lord Melville.

But when he agreed to extend the trade, he did not, for one moment, check or impair the principle on which the Company's system was built. The great statesmen of that day found the means of meeting all the expectations of the country, without having recourse to that which was now sought to be done; and which went to subvert that very Constitution which Lord Melville

pledged himself to support. He was very sorry that all the patronage which administration, as had been justly stated, must possess, to enable them to carry on the affairs of the state, was not applied to the improvement of the Company, instead of being directed against them. That there was room for amendment, the Directors themselves allowed; and, if the Administration exerted their influence and abilities to ameliorate the system, instead of knocking it down, they would have done infinite good to the country. Had they, instead of dealing in those sarcastic remarks, which characterized the last letter, sent for the grave and reverend persons who constituted their Executive body; had they addressed them thus—"The outline is all that we can know, let us unite our various talents, and see what can be done to amend and improve the system!"—such language would have been honorable to both parties, and the result of their combined wisdom would have been useful to the empire. It was unfortunate that they had not done this, instead of driving them to an awful alternative.—By taking a different course, they had lost an opportunity of conferring the greatest benefits on the public; benefits which would have made their names politically immortal.—*(Hear!)* Instead of this prudent and conciliating mode, they

had grappled with the question, and he anticipated that they would sink in the struggle; for it could not be forgotten, that the people of Great Britain *politically destroyed* one of the greatest men amongst them (Mr. Fox), for attempting the *one-hundredth* part of that which was now proposed. Mr. Pitt did not dare to introduce such a measure; and Lord Melville utterly disclaimed it. He was sure the people of England would not allow those of *ignobler natures* to bear away that spoil, for the endeavouring to carry off which they destroyed the lion. (*Hear! hear!*)

If he understood the hon. Gentleman's proposition rightly, it was this—"You do not," says he to the Company, "embrace all the trade of India; and in that proportion in which you are *minor*, you act injuriously to the country, by permitting foreigners to usurp that which is the right of native subjects; and I will shew, from the increase within a certain period, how much may be done under a different management, and how much was done by the partial extension granted by the Marquis Wellesley." The hon. Gentleman stated, that in 1793, the private trade amounted to £181,700, and in 1798 to £800,000. "Here," says he, "is an increase; although it had been said, prior to that time, that the trade had been carried on to the utmost of its capacity;

in five years the importations of the private trader have mounted from £181,000 to £800,000; and in the year 1810 it rose to near three millions."

He was almost disposed, when he allowed the candour of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Hume), to question his cunning; for he drew a most extraordinary inference from these facts, as he allowed them to be. He was lost in admiration at the extraordinary increase; he gave way to the exulting feelings of an Englishman; he clasped his hands, and exclaimed, "Look here! in seven years the private trade has had a rise of from £181,000 to near three millions of money." He partook of the hon. Gentleman's joy—every Englishman must feel happy in the flourishing state of our commerce; but he would ask him, under whose auspices was this change affected? Was it not under the very system which he deprecated? Was it not under the superintendence of those Directors and Proprietors, whom it was now intended to supersede? If the hon. Gentleman had said, "Did not A. go to Bombay, B. to Madras, and C. elsewhere? and mark what profits they have produced," there might be something in it; but the argument, as it now stood, plainly showed to what an astonishing height this very trade had been carried by those whom he now

wished to set aside. The hon. Gentleman was correct in his statement, but wrong in his conclusion; for, in the latter instance, he had adduced an unanswerable argument in favor of the policy and government of the East India Company, as it now existed.

The hon. gentleman had called the attention of the Court to the circumstance of the licenses granted to private shipping by the Marquis of Wellesley, in consequence of the complaints made by the merchants in India, by which measure property to the amount of £900,000 was brought home; but, when he stated this fact, he ought to have recollected the particular circumstances under which it took place. He should have remembered that it was done when the funds of the Company were applied to one of the greatest of political purposes, that of counteracting the machinations of a power which meditated the overthrow of the whole civilized world. He should blush for that government, which could reproach them with the defection of their funds, when they recollected for what purposes, and for whom, they were brought into that situation! Were not their finances, at that time, applied to purposes which brought peace to India and glory to England, under the auspices of one of the greatest men of modern times—and he would name him fearlessly

—the Marquis Wellesley? The events which marked the return of that Noble Marquis to this country could not be forgotten—they must be indelibly fixed on the minds of all who heard him. At that period, he thought it his duty to make himself acquainted, as much as possible, with past events; and, in the very storm and tempest of opposition, to unveil the truth.—But those times were passed; India was now in a state of peaceful tranquillity—no hostile army remaining to disturb her repose. At the very moment he spoke she was becoming powerful and productive; and might justly be termed "the right-hand and arm of the country." When they beheld her prosperity and happiness, it was impossible not to look back with gratitude and veneration to him who was one of the prime causes of her improved situation. Was it, therefore, for the Government, at this time, to say to them, "Because you gave up your investments to achieve these objects, which have brought so much political advantage and so much glory to the country at large; because you have done this, your whole system shall be destroyed;—because you have expended your funds, in encreasing your army, to effect great national purposes, and have been, therefore, obliged to apply to government for aid, this shall be turned into an engine against you, and

those acts shall be rewarded by your subversion." (*Hear! hear!*) "But," says the hon. gentleman, "His Majesty's government were of opinion, that you did not give all the facilities to the Private-Trade, under the stipulations of 1793, that you ought to have afforded, and that much more might be done, and they insisted that more should be done. You pleaded your Charter, but an improvement did take place, and a considerable share of commerce was given up."

Now, said Mr. Randle Jackson, though the facts might be, as the hon. gentleman stated them, still the inference was strong with the Company. Let the Court look to the circumstances. At the time when this extension took place, a new administration, of which he believed Lord Castlereagh and Viscount Sidmouth were members, had been formed; yet, with all the experience which had been afforded, from 1793 to 1804, these Ministers, from the beginning to the end of that negociation, never even hinted at what the Earl of Buckinghamshire mentioned in his letter. (*Hear!*) The Directors resisted that extension of the Private-Trade, and he also resisted it, on the ground that it was premature. If the revocation of the Charter could have been of national benefit, then there might have been some plea for the proceeding of the Ministry of

that day.—For he held now, and always had held; and he recollected the same doctrine having been laid down by high authority, that however sacred a Charter was in its nature, it was granted for the public good, and when it ceased to be of national benefit, the party granting had a right to revoke it, on one condition; and that was, the indemnifying those who were likely to be injured by the revocation. If the party who granted the Charter were not able to afford that indemnity, it was not a *national question*; and, if it was not a national question, if it was not treated as such, there was an end to the *social compact*. But the difference between the measure proposed by the Earl of Buckinghamshire and the principles by which the Ministry of former days were actuated, was complete and radical. The opinion of Lord Melville was distinctly stated in his letter to the Chairman of March the 21st 1803, and was as follows: "We are both (his Lordship and the Directors) strenuously maintaining, that the preservation of the monopoly of the East-India Company is essentially requisite for the security of every important interest connected with our Indian empire; and so deeply am I impressed with the truth of this proposition, that I am prepared explicitly to declare, that although the first formation of an East-India

Company proceeded from purely commercial considerations, the magnitude and importance to which the East-India Company has progressively advanced, is now so interwoven with the political interests of the empire, as to create upon my mind a firm conviction *that the maintenance of the monopoly of the East-India Company, is even more important to the political interests of the State, than it is to the commercial interests of the Company.*" Fortified by such opinions as these, they had a right, with truth, to assume to themselves that they were not acting with partial views, as Proprietors of East-India Stock, but as Citizens of the Empire.

He knew not the persons who had called on government to throw open the trade, but he thought the Company ought to make out a strong case; and though in doing that they must satisfy the intellect and philosophy of Glasgow and of Liverpool, yet they were not obliged to satisfy the prejudiced and the self-interested. But how were they to do this? The Earl of Buckinghamshire told them, that the verbal representations of the persons who had met the Ministry, had caused them to depart from their original opinions; but he refused to let them know what the arguments made use of were: a conduct very different from that adopted by Lord Melville at the

period of the last negociation. But the Earl of Buckinghamshire went a little farther, "if," says he, "the Company are particularly desirous to know the reasons which influence us, they will find them in the Petitions on the table of the House of Commons"—if indeed any given table could hold such an immense mass. (*A laugh.*) His lordship had bound himself by this paragraph; in it he said that he would act according to the opinions contained in those petitions; he has committed himself in favor of them. Now, let any man read them, and say, whether any two of them contain a proposition by which a reasonable being would be guided. If his lordship was not very partial in considering these petitions, he must discuss other subjects, as well as the renewal of the Company's Charter; for many of them were mixed up with the two great questions of *Parliamentary Reform* and *Catholic Emancipation.* (*A laugh.*)

He hoped the noble lord, who filled a seat in the House of Peers, with so much honor to himself and advantage to the public, would call to mind his affection for the petitioners, when he felt inclined to oppose either of those measures. (*Hear! hear!*) He hoped that, when his duty impelled him to deliver his sentiments against Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation, he would recollect that his very good friends at

the Outports, to whose opinion he paid so much deference, had exhausted pages, in proving the necessity of conceding those two important questions.

The hon. gentleman, in farther illustration of his argument, had noticed the rapid strides made by the Americans in the Indian commerce (and here, much which he said, ought to be answered; and much ought to be answered by government), in consequence of the liberty granted by this country; he argued, from recent events, that trade might shift its seat; that these immunities to foreigners were unfair; and that Commerce, as was eloquently expressed by an hon. gentleman (Mr. Grant) who preceded him, would force its way, in spite of confiscation, burning and death. These were points worthy of their most serious consideration.

He had hoped, some few years ago, that he should have had an opportunity of amending and altering the regulations on this subject, when the renewal of the Charter came to be considered for he did not believe that any person, in their political hemisphere, had then contemplated its subversion—he had hoped that it would have been an English and not an American Charter. He formerly took the liberty of stating what in his opinion would be the effect of granting so much license to the Americans:

the consequence had unfortunately been as he stated, and the same was likely to occur again, unless the subject should be attended to by His Majesty's ministers. The extent of license granted before the war, was detrimental to our interests, and a similar effect must take place, should government persist in the same system, when the Americans returned to their senses and to peace. *(Hear! hear!)* Perhaps America was treated rather cavalierly—two Orders in Council were issued against her on a former occasion, which enabled us to seize their property. They then sent Mr. Jay to this country, to settle the differences between the two States. That gentleman said, " feeble and young as we are, if you continue thus to torture us, we must hazard war." On the late Orders in Council it was not his intention here to expatiate; although he might be of opinion, that having been once issued, they should have been adhered to with more firmness. The fact, however, was, that some time after the representation of Mr. Jay, those two Orders were repealed, and compensation granted to those whose property had been taken under them. A treaty was then concluded with America, the 13th article of which gave the merchants of that country the privilege of trading to India. In negociating this treaty,

each party thought he was overreaching the other, as was generally the case; it turned out, however, for the benefit of the Americans—the wily American Negociator was too much for us. The treaty was meant to permit a *direct* course to India from America, but the Americans contended that a *circuitous course* was contemplated. While the subject remained in this state of indecision, that hydra, the French Revolution, began to make such rapid strides, as induced us to endeavour to keep on good terms with America; and he recollected the Letter of Lord Melville on the subject. "We must not now," said his lordship, "be too strict in our construction of the American treaty." The point was consequently given up; and thence it followed, that, before many years had elapsed, the Americans were almost our superiors in trade. The Portuguese and Spaniards, and every neutral State, then came forward, and claimed, as a right, the same privilege which was granted to the Americans. An Act was in consequence passed, conferring on them the same privilege as the Americans enjoyed. He had arraigned the Act in that Court, not on partial or narrow motives.—He said and would still say, that whenever the East-India Company from want of capital, or management, failed in carrying on all the commerce which their situation

admitted, that the British merchant, on the Exchange of London, was next in rotation, and not the Americans, Spaniards, or Portuguese.

If, as the hon. gent. had stated, a variety of articles, for which they were paying money to foreigners might be procured from India, it was their duty, as far as they possibly could, to procure them from that country, by which means they might encourage the enterprize and industry of their fellow citizens, instead of enriching aliens. But when he made this observation, he must also remark, that this could be done, to the greatest extent, through the medium of the India Company. And, if the private trader felt himself aggrieved— if he desired a greater degree of liberty, let him have it;—let there be a numerical increase of tonnage—let the three thousand be enlarged to six, or even ten thousand tons; and an alteration be made in the mode of importing their staple article. "But no," say the merchants of Glasgow, "this will not satisfy us; all colonial rights are open to human nature, and we must have liberty to go to India ourselves." Now, he allowed that the commerce of the East ought to be conducted on the most liberal scale; but still it ought to be conducted through that medium which had shewn that it was most capable of making the wisest arrangements—a fact which was borne

out by the hon. gentleman's (Mr. Hume's) own statement, that, in seven years, the private trade had been increased from £181,000 to £800,000.

. He hoped, if there was any person present connected with the government, that he would beg of them to look to the latter part of the argument of the hon. gentleman. If he were borne out by his documents, and he did not doubt but that he was, he proved that, notwithstanding the non-importation Act, such was the elasticity of commerce, that a greater trade had been carried on with the western hemisphere, since that Act was passed, than before it was in existence. He mentioned this the more particularly, because they had greatly alarmed themselves on account of the rupture with America. Now, if it were possible for this country (America having gone to war with her) to export a greater proportion of goods to the western world, *after* than *before* that event, without the assistance of the United States, it was the duty of every statesman to encourage the continuance of this independent traffic, even when peace should have been concluded. He was sure nothing had occasioned greater stupor and surprise, than the recent successes of the American privateers; and yet there was not a merchant's clerk in the city of London, who did not know that it was the privateer faction

in America which hurried that nation into hostility. *(Hear! hear!)* Recollecting the success which attended them at the commencement of the former contest, they were anxious again to participate in similar profits; and scarcely was the ink dried on the declaration of war, when the signature was put to letters of marque. *(Hear! hear!)* It should be remembered, that Carthage, the greatest maritime state of ancient times, was overturned by a power, which, when she commenced the contest, was so defective in naval means, that one of the vessels of the Carthaginians, which was wrecked on her shore, was made use of as a model for the building of ships to carry on and effect the ambitious projects of the Romans. *(Hear! hear!)* And, however contemptible in the commencement, yet that very Roman power did ultimately conquer at sea—destroy the fleets of her enemy—ruin her commercial greatness—and, at length, utterly subvert her empire. Yet the proportion of naval strength between Rome and Carthage, bore no comparison with that which America possessed at this day in reference to Great Britain. He felt, therefore, that there was no safety for England, but in keeping down America, as a maritime nation. *(Hear! hear!)* And he hoped, when-

ever peace should be restored, that they would not be again let loose on India. *(Hear! Hear!)*

The hon. gentleman (Mr. Hume) next advanced an argument which he thought directly in favor of the Company. He observed, "How foolish it is to say, that the export trade to China cannot be increased, when, prior to 1793, it amounted only to £629,000, and, in that year, it was no less than £1,320,000; although there was but one investment for the proprietors." But what was the reason of this increase? He called on him to state the fact. The Company had sent out a great embassy to China, one object of which was to extend their exports, and they were in consequence increased to the sum mentioned with such confidence by the hon. gentleman. Suppose, when the China export trade was only £629,000, that the gentlemen of Glasgow had observed to Ministers—"Bless us! the China trade is only so much, but we are sure, if you open it, that we shall raise it beyond your most sanguine expectations;" and suppose Ministers were won by assertions like this, strenuously urged, and agreed to the proposal; he put it to the hon. gentleman, and to the experience of hundreds about him, who knew the jealous disposition of the Chinese—he put it to his candour, had those persons been suffered to

proceed to China, would the export trade there or an atom of it have now remained?

(Mr. *Hume* said, "Certainly not!")

The hon. gentleman candidly admitted that it would not. What then became of his argument? Instead of keeping the trade in a fair and just medium, would he expose it to every danger, by throwing it open to those, who would not be under the control of the Company? But certain persons said, there was an increased capacity, which might be still further improved. The Company had taken advantage of that increased capacity, and they had shewn no disposition to relax their exertion. Still, however, the hon. gentleman contended, that the trade should be thrown open, although he admitted, that if such representations had been attended to, at a former day, the whole trade must now have been extinguished.

The hon. gentleman also had noticed the prodigious increase of exports, between 1806 and 1810. But what did all this shew him? —That, under the Government and Constitution of which he had spoken with so much respect, as admirably adapted to support the Indian Empire, both the export and import trade had progressively increased. And was not this an argument, that any institution which could

do so much service, was that which ought to be continued and supported, instead of giving it up for a plan which was untried, and consequently unknown? The hon. gent. next said, "but your trade to India is a losing trade; why, then, all this anxiety to preserve it?" There *was* a reason, that might have occurred to him. It appeared from an account laid before the House of Commons, that, of the eight millions which were charged against the Company, five millions had been expended in voluntary contributions and other splendid acts of patriotism.—*(Hear! Hear!)* He wondered, when the hon. gent. was at a loss to account for a few millions, that he did not recollect how much had been disbursed in that manner. "Still," said the hon. gent. "your trade is a losing one; even your Chairman said so." Now, when he mentioned an hon. Chairman, in support of his argument, he should have quoted his words. In his letter of the 13th of January, 1809, to the present Lord Melville, then president of the Board of Control, he said, "in fact, the Indian trade, as an object of gain, has gradually ceased to be an object of importance either to the Company or to individuals." The late Lord Melville said the same thing.—"It is of no consequence," said his Lordship, "to any one, except in a political point of view; and I will

therefore uphold it, as the pillar of the East-India Company, while I regard that Company as the pillar of the state."

But he (Mr. Jackson) denied that it was a losing trade; some years it produced one hundred thousand pounds; some years three, some years four, and even five hundred thousand pounds had been produced by it; and one year had occurred, in which the amount was seven hundred thousand pounds. On an average therefore, they might estimate the profits at £100,000 per annum. "But at least," said the hon. gent. (Mr. Hume), "you must admit that £300,000 has been lost within a certain time." Supposing this to be the fact, was there no great political object answered by that loss? Need the hon. gentleman be told, that it was the means of keeping up their remittances, and continuing their well regulated monopoly; which Ministers and Statesmen, now no more, for, on such an occasion, we must invoke the mighty dead, had declared absolutely necessary to our prosperity and our security? *(Hear! hear!)*

But the hon. gentleman's proposition was this, "you have got the Indian trade in your possession, and a most extensive and profitable branch of commerce it may be made in other hands; but you have lost by it, and, therefore, it shall be taken from you; this course shall be pursued;

for no better reason than because I say the trade is unproductive." — *(Mr. Hume here intimated he had said, not that it should be taken away, but, that, as a losing trade, it could not be of any importance to the Company, if it were opened).* —Mr. Jackson resumed, by stating, that the point was very immaterial—his proposition at present was, that the trade had not been a losing trade. But supposing it was, in some years, he appealed to the candour of the hon gentleman, as versed in mercantile affairs, whether, if he had a variety of adventures, intended for five or six different ports, on one of which there was a loss, would he on account of the defalcation in that port, give up all the others? And he would say, that if they acted upon this plan, and retained nothing but what was profitable, they must give up Bombay and Madras, the returns from which were very small, and the expences very considerable; but they retained them as the outworks of their defence, by which they were enabled to protect Bengal; and, as long as by possessing this trade they were enabled to support their well regulated monopoly, which was necessary to the preservation of their whole system, they had no right to complain, even if the loss were greater.

The hon. gentleman concluded his speech by a variety of statements, connected with their reve-

sues and territory. In the first instance, he told them, that there was no end to the capacity of the India trade; and that, if the private trader was suffered to improve it, ten times as much might be done as was at present effected. But the moment he came to that part of the case, where the Company apprehended the danger to their Indian territory existed, namely, from the influx of strangers, the so much-boasted trade became a trifle, and he asked, a little jocularly,—"What do you fear from a few runaway vagabonds from the ships of the private-traders, on an extent of coast of near 3000 miles?" He would tell him: from the provisions, of which he had spoken in such high terms, from the active police which was established, it was clear that danger had hitherto been apprehended; and if the government, compact as it was now, had its hand on every individual who conducted himself contrary to the established regulations; if every European stranger was arrested by the police; and if such strictness was considered so important, as to induce a clause in every treaty between the Company and the native powers (which were regularly laid before the Board of Control)—if, he repeated, the government found it so important a thing to guard against the entrance of unknown persons, at the present time; he put it to the hon.

gentleman, whether he must not admit, that much greater dangers were likely to arise, if Europeans were permitted to find their way into India, unchecked and uncontrouled? Must not indiscriminate commerce, to use the words of Lord Melville, be followed by indiscriminate access? And who could point out the boundary at which the evil thus produced would terminate?

Throughout the whole of the hon. gentleman's arguments he had given the go-bye completely to any constitutional effect which might arise from the alteration. On this point he appeared not to indulge the smallest fear. Yet he must himself allow, that if the government even lined the coasts with officers, to preserve the revenue, as had been observed, this alone would produce some extent of patronage. The danger to the constitution, in the event of a change, had been most emphatically pointed out by the late Lord Melville, and he made this observation, because an indiscreet notice had been taken of the expression made use of by the Directors, in their letter of the 30th of December last—in which they said that the subject involved "questions of the last importance to the safety of the British empire in India and of the British constitution at home." The Earl of Buckinghamshire, in answer to this, indulged, he thought, in some levity

He seemed to thank them for their care, but told them, that " the safety of the British empire in India and the British constitution at home, would not be overlooked by Ministers." But he should observe, that the words quoted by the Directors were those of Lord Melville, one of the greatest men this country ever produced—that profound statesman, whom he had the honor to call his friend, said, " that the Constitution could not survive the destruction of the East-India Charter;" and Mr. Fox, who was barely *suspected* of harbouring such an intention, politically perished.

From the many protestations of the hon. gentleman, he should suppose he had no intention of transferring the government;—but, however guarded he was in his speech, he was not so in his amendment; there, the intention broke out. That amendment contained two propositions; the one referring to that indemnity which they might demand two or three years after the mischief was done, when they were no longer the compacted, united body, they now were; the other relating to regulations and safeguards in embryo. The amendment began by stating, " this Court deeming it prudent and proper to acquiesce in the principles and preliminaries stated by his Majesty's Ministers through the President of the Board

of Control," (that principle being the admission of the Outports to a general and indiscriminate right of commerce), " it is resolved that it be referred back to the Court of Directors to continue their negociation,"—for what?—for continuing the Indian empire complete and entire? No—but for carrying " these principles" (Lord Buckinghamshire's principles) " into effect." The hon. gentleman admitted, in the language of the Earl of Buckinghamshire, the great mischief which must ensue—if what? " If regulations," of which they now knew nothing, " were not adopted."

Mr. Jackson then went on to state, that his had been a very dry and unpleasant task; but that, by going a little into the hon. gentleman's (Mr. Hume's) numerical statements, he had shown, that they were, to make the best of them, a series of arguments, supporting the Company; and, by pointing out what they had already done, inferring the propriety of permitting them to do still more. With respect to the compensation spoken of by the hon. gentleman, he should say, that it was unnecessary to mention it—for, after a long period of exertions and services, in support of the country, no Minister, no Man, would dare, in a moral nation, to deprive them of their rights, without granting the most equitable indemnity.

The hon. gentleman had insinuated, that the Directors might be so much affected, in *their* department, by the proposed change, which perhaps would deprive them of part of their patronage, as to render them hostile to the measure; — he called on the Court to compare this with their conduct, and to judge whether the supposition were well or ill-founded. If the Directors could have acted under such an impression, their conduct would have been diametrically *the reverse* of what it had been; and, instead of telling them that the alteration would be injurious to the country, and pointing out the necessity of opposing it, they would have said, as they themselves could not, in fact, be affected by it, "oh! perhaps it may be no great matter!—you had better consent to the measure!" If they were actuated by any mean or selfish views, this would have been their language, as every one of them might rest assured of being indemnified.—But the Directors conducted themselves on different principles; they who were not likely to be affected by this change, said to them, who would be touched by it,—"It is a cause which compromises the safety of the Indian empire, and of the British constitution; and we think it is your duty not to agree to this proposition."——

It was intended, it seems, to continue the exclusive trade to China in the hands of the Company; but it was utterly farcical, and adding insult to injury, to think they could retain it entire, if the adventurers were admitted to the Archipelago of the Eastern Seas. The Directors were supported in their opinions by many of the greatest Statesmen of modern times, some of whom were now living; their opinions were fortified by the sentiments of the present Ministers themselves, who, in answer to the *sixth proposition* of the Directors, admitted the danger to which the China Tea trade would be exposed, from indiscriminate commerce, and the proximity of the Eastern Islands, from which so much danger was expected. They afterwards departed from this principle, stating that *verbal representations* had caused the change, leaving to them the Herculean labour of perusing the various petitions from the Outports. The question then was, should they now,—and, perhaps, it was one of the last acts of their political existence,—avow their determination to support and uphold their Directors in the course they had taken, to the very end of the contest, if it were necessary? Knowing that they were not fighting the battle of the Company, but of the Empire; knowing that they were fighting the battle of the natives

of India, who were their subjects; he was sure they would act with firmness. He was convinced the intellect of the country was on their side. He meant not to cast any imputation on the feelings of gentlemen at the Outports, who had a right to improve every advantage which offered, but he might be allowed to hope, that the interests of the Company would not be suffered to sink before the speculations of Glasgow and of Liverpool. *(Hear! hear! hear!)*

Mr. *Weyland* said, he thought himself peculiarly fortunate, that the extraordinary talent and unanimity with which the debate was carried on, rendered it unnecessary for him to go into any argument on the opposition which had been given to his resolutions. He now conceived that it would be advisable to adjourn till Tuesday. In the interim he should endeavour, in compliance with the suggestions of several honorable Proprietors, to compress the remaining propositions into one; by which means they should be able to go through that part of the business, and also the reply of Mr. Hume, if the courtesy of the proprietors should permit him again to address them. It was obvious, if they went through the *seventeen* resolutions, *seriatim*, and had a debate on each, Parliament must meet long before they had decided.

Sir Hugh Inglis stated, that by the idea which had fallen from the hon. Proprietor, it should seem as if he considered the hon. mover of the amendment *entitled* to a reply. Now, he believed, in all assemblies where subjects were debated, that privilege was only allowed to the original mover of a resolution; but as no person had spoken on the other side, except the hon. proprietor (Mr. Hume), he left it to the indulgence of the Court, whether they would place him in a situation again to address them. If they adjourned now, this could be determined hereafter; but he could not permit the Court to break up without stating, that if Mr. Hume were allowed to reply, it was as a matter of *courtesy*, and not of *right.*

Sir Hugh Inglis then put the question of adjournment till Tuesday, the 26th instant.

Mr. K. *Smith* suggested the propriety, if it met with the approbation of the gentlemen on both sides of the bar, of assembling on that day at an hour earlier than the ordinary time, which would add much to the facility of getting through the business.

Sir Hugh Inglis, considering it as most desirable that they should finish the discussion as speedily as possible, yet with all due deliberation, thought it would be advisable, instead

of twelve precisely, to meet at eleven o'clock, on Tuesday next, on which day he hoped, from what had fallen from the hon. mover, that they should be able to come to a decision.

Mr. Alderman Atkins requested that he might be allowed to say a word before the Court adjourned. He thought it must be admitted that the Court would be unanimous in their opinion as to the propriety which had marked the proceedings of the Directors. It was agreed, on all hands, that this was a question of immense magnitude; now that being granted, he begged to ask, whether it was beyond their power to have another meeting with His Majesty's Ministers, without driving either party to a situation which must be extremely disagreeable to both; by that means possibly they might be prevented from coming to resolutions which were so decidedly at variance with the sentiments of Government. Before they committed themselves in this proceeding, was it not better that they should consider the question a little farther; which might have the effect of extricating them from such an unpleasant situation?

Sir Hugh Inglis observed, that he was sure the worthy Alderman would perceive, that, in the present stage of the business, it was morally impossible for him, situated as he was, to give

him any satisfactory answer. The appeal had been made by His Majesty's Ministers to the Court of Proprietors; the last letters received from Government were meant to be submitted to *them.* It was therefore for *them* to decide, and for the Directors to obey their decision. At the same time, that circumstance did not preclude His Majesty's Ministers from sending to the executive body, who would at all times be ready to meet them, when they could do so on principles commensurate with the safety of the Company.

Mr. Alderman Atkins said, he should be extremely happy that His Majesty's Ministers should have it conveyed to them, that the Court was willing to extend the trade—on a liberal footing, on broad and national grounds, such as should be consistent with the security and safety of the empire. This was what he desired might be done. If the Government then said, "the trade shall only be opened as we like," the Court would stand acquitted of any narrow view, and Ministers would incur a responsibility they did not now contemplate.

The question of adjournment until Tuesday was then put and carried.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 26, 1813.

The Court assembled at eleven o'clock, and the minutes of the last Court having been read—

Sir Hugh Inglis opened the business by stating, that the Court was met for the purpose of taking into farther consideration the very momentous question that had been submitted to them.

Mr. K. Smith said, that he rose with much diffidence, to request their attention, after so many eloquent and powerful arguments had been adduced; but he thought it a duty incumbent on him, and on every member of the Court, at that momentous crisis, to give all the assistance in their power on so important a subject. In viewing the papers laid before the Court, he could not refrain from offering the Directors his most sincere thanks, not only as a Proprietor, but as a British subject, for the manly, upright, and temperate conduct they had maintained on the present occasion. He wished he could speak as favourably of the letter of the Earl of Buckinghamshire, and say that it displayed as much discreetness and moderation. It was a production to

which no man in this country could look with indifference; it not only threatened to annihilate the East-India Company, but to destroy the vital spirit of the British Constitution. He did not think, from his knowledge of Lord Buckinghamshire, that it was the production of his pen; but if the deliberation of His Majesty's ministers had produced such sentiments, he could not believe that they had fairly and candidly considered the importance of the subject.

In the first place, as to the Charter, he had it in his power, professionally, to answer some arguments which were adduced on a former day by an hon. Proprietor (Mr. Hume). With respect to the general subject now before them, he was of opinion, and ever had been, that it was impossible the Company could exist, under the proposition of which His Majesty's ministers had laid down the basis. If the imports and exports were to be thrown open, he was sure, that every one who knew the situation of the India trade must see that it was not in the nature of things, that the China trade could be preserved. The Earl of Buckinghamshire must have known, when he was in India, that the trade itself did not depend so much on the ships which came from this country, as the vessels going from port to port there.

Hitherto, all their dependence was on the outward cargoes, which consisted principally of cotton, and the homeward voyage was a matter of secondary consideration; but now, under the new system, the homeward cargo would become such an object to the private merchants, that it would be impossible to prevent them from bringing the article of Tea from China to this country. Every man who commanded one of these ships, as the persons employing them could not give them a sufficient subsistence, would bring home, illicitly, the articles of Tea and Silk. It might, it was true, be but in small quantities; yet twenty chests of tea, and a few bales of silk, thus smuggled by a numerous class of adventurers, would, in the end, be an object of great magnitude both to the Company and the country. How would it be possible to prevent this species of traffic, aided as it would be by persons going out of the ports of England, Ireland and Scotland? and if these facilities did exist, must not the revenue suffer almost to an incalculable extent? There was another important consideration [illegible] small ships, indifferently manned and armed; the risk of being captured by the enemy would be very great. In making the remark, he was not calculating the loss which the individual would suffer, but the defalcation which must take place in the revenue. The government said, they would take

steps to prevent this;—but they knew, in the West-Indies, that two or three ships were permitted to run out, without convoy, and would not the gentlemen of the outports, in this country, expect the same liberty? With respect to the state of the Company's ships, no one could doubt their present efficiency.—It was well known, that government had, on former occasions, resorted to them for the defence of the country; and a few years since, when they applied to the Company for assistance, they received some of the finest ships that ever were in His Majesty's Navy. He thought, therefore, that government ought maturely to pause, before they attempted a measure, which must destroy that great source of strength.

If the hon. Proprietor (Mr. Hume) had weighed the matter for one moment, he would not have cast the reflection on the Directors, which he had done, with respect to the extra shipping. He had declared, that the extra ships had been dispatched out of season, and that a loss had in consequence, had been incurred by the private trader. He boldly affirmed too, that out of *seventy ships*, one half had been dispatched at an improper period. He ought to have gone the length of saying, that, out of *three hundred and seventy* ships, only about *forty* had been sent out of season. Now, he would venture to tell him, that this was not the fault of the

Company, but of the private trade; *(Hear! Hear!)* —he had known ships waiting a month for the private trader, in this country, when the Company's freights were all on board; and he knew of instances in India, in which delays had been attributed to the same cause. The hon. gentleman must recollect, that the Company had used every means in their power, by the manner in which they took up ships, and the terms upon which they engaged them, to prevent them from sailing out of season, or being employed in any emergency.—But, when they had been so employed, it was not at the instance of the Company, but in consequence of an exigency of the state. The expeditions fitted out for the conquests of the Isles of France, Batavia, and on other occasions, had led to those detentions, of which the hon. gentleman complained, but which had not been caused by the East-India Company. *(Hear!)* It was known, that the Company could have no reason for detaining their ships, in India, inasmuch as they chiefly put Saltpetre on board, which was always ready,—whereas the private trader, from the difficulty attending his speculations, was never in so advantageous a situation. The anxiety to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy, by making them sail in stated numbers, and giving them proper convoy, might occasion some delay;

but that was not for the benefit of the Company alone, but for the sake of the revenue. For, if the ships were taken, the private trader would be ruined, and the country would be impoverished.

The hon. gentleman had stated, that the seven ships which were unfortunately lost, were dispatched out of season, and that the disaster occurred in consequence of that circumstance. He would admit that some of them were dispatched out of season; and if the Company had a supernatural power, he would coincide with him in thinking, that some blame was imputable to them; but they could not command the elements.—Three of those ships were sent out of season; but *four*, which did not contain an ounce of the private trade, met the same fate. They were properly manned, and, in every respect, fit to cope with the climate—such an occurrence had not before taken place for twenty years; and, within his experience, he recollected but one instance, in such a latitude and longitude, of so dreadful a gale having been encountered— it was in the case of Captain Hay, whose vessel was much injured, although happily not lost, in a storm equally violent. He should now state the reason why the vessels to which he had alluded were dispatched out of season. Two of them (he was not sure of the third,) were set afloat at the regular and proper

time; but the exigency of the State occasioned them to be detained; they were put under the orders of Sir Home Popham, whom they joined at Portsmouth; from thence they proceeded to Cork, to Rio Janeiro, and the Cape of Good Hope; they, in consequence, did not arrive at Bengal until a late period, when it was not thought advisable to send them immediately back; and they were kept until October. Now, he really thought the Company's servants abroad ought not to be blamed for this; and they, as Proprietors, ought to support them; for, he was sure, they did not wish the private merchants, trading through the medium of the Company, to sustain any injury whatever. The private trader seemed to think, that he had much to complain of, in the mode in which the extra ships were taken up; but, if the trade was thrown open, the freight would not be so low as it was at present. In regulating the price of freight, Company charged in proportion to what they paid to the individual owners; and the private trader now procured his freight at £21 per ton. Now, £21 per ton, considering the security the Company was obliged to give, was a freight of which they could have no reason to complain. The Company's liberality, in this instance, extended far beyond any thing he could

conceive; and he thought the private trader, instead of finding fault, should bow down, with thanks, to the Company, for permitting him to enjoy the advantages he did, upon such easy terms. If the ships were detained beyond a certain time, the Company paid a demurrage of one shilling and sixpence per ton per day. Did they charge this to the private trader?—No—they paid the whole of it out of their own pockets; so, that, in fact, they paid as great a freight as the private trader, and as much as the article of Saltpetre could bear. *(Hear! hear!)*

The hon. gentleman (Mr. Hume,) in a part of his speech, had thought proper to pronounce a very high eulogium on the naval officers of the Company, of whom, he should ever thank God, he had been one; but, in the same breath, he told them, that the captains in the Outports would do the business quite as well.—But, from the experience he had had with the Company's officers, he felt, that, in the one instance, they would trust their property to men of honor, to men of education and principle, in whom they could confide—they were men brought up in the Company's service from their childhood; unfit, from their situations in life, to go into the employment of the owners of 400 ton ships; and men to whom the Company had, upon all occasions, expressed themselves

obliged; whereas, in the other, the persons who were likely to be sent from the Outports, must of necessity be wholly ignorant of the service in which they were about to embark.—He held in his hand a paper, which shewed the high sentiments of respect entertained by the Court of Directors for the officers of the Company's navy; and it appeared, that a sum of not less than £95,562, had been distributed amongst them for their gallant defence and honorable care of the Company's property, at different times;—added to which, there were one or two private donations, and two captains received handsome annual pensions from the bounty of the Company. There then were nearly £100,000, paid to the naval officers; and he must tell the hon. gent. that this constituted a part of the five millions he could not account for; this, it was true, was a small proportion, but it was a part of it. The hon. gentleman had also said, that the ships sent from the Outports would take on board a number of men, whose families being left behind, would serve as a sort of security for their good conduct. But what would be the consequence?—What was to become of the supply of Seamen for His Majesty's navy, in India, which had hitherto been solely supplied through the medium of the Company's ships; not one of them leaving less, upon an average, than twenty

men, for the public service? Now, if these men were taken from on board the ships of the private merchants, to supply the vacancies in the navy, what must become of their families?—they must either become burdens to their parishes, or starve. Therefore this argument was fallacious. If the Government could not procure such men, in India, as were fit for the fleets there, they must supply the deficiency at an enormous loss to this country; and, if the mariners were taken from on board private merchants' ships, they must proceed on their homeward bound voyage manned with natives. Within the last year, 2660 Lascars, who were brought over to this country, were all fed and clothed at the expense of the Company, and sent back more comfortable than when they came. If the trade was opened, great numbers of Lascars would arrive with every fleet, and would be left to wander over the country in a state of starvation. Humanity alone, in this respect, called on them to oppose the measure.

Having answered these two points, he should conclude by requesting the Court of Proprietors to recollect, that it was not only the gentlemen in their service that would be affected by opening the trade, but thousands of surveyors, lightermen, and labourers, would be injured by it. The hon. gent. stated, that these persons must all be remu-

nerated. He could devise no other means by which this could be done, than through the government of the country; and how would they effect the object of remuneration?—Why, the taxes must be raised to pay it. In his opinion no other mode could be devised. But, what was to become of their pensioners; the widows and the orphans of those veterans, by whose exertions they were placed in the situation in which they now stood?—Why they must starve, or be thrown helpless upon the wide world; *(Hear!)* for it was not possible that government could suggest a mode of relief, except by taxation. He himself had no objection to the question being brought before Parliament. He was convinced that if the Members of both Houses were calmly and moderately to consider the subject, a majority of them would say, "the Company must not be annihilated in that manner." He, for one, had no fear to go before the House of Commons. He would let the persons interested in that great event, plead their cause before the bar of that honorable House; he would let the petitions from the commanders, officers, and seamen, be laid before them; and, with these calls upon their justice and humanity, he was satisfied they could not for one moment entertain so monstrous a proposition as that of annihilating their hopes of future comfort

and support. *(Hear!)* He was sure the nation at large did not wish to subvert their rights; and, however general the wish might be for the extension of the private-trade, it was only, he was confident, desired by the candid and the liberal, through the medium of the East-India Company. He begged pardon for having so long trespassed on the attention of the Court, but he could not, consistently with his own feelings, upon this important subject, refrain from expressing at once his total dissent from the arguments of the hon. gent. and from the amendment which he had proposed to the Court.

Mr. *Trower* said, he was desirous, before this debate drew to a close, to address them very briefly; not that he flattered himself, after the able manner in which the subject had been discussed, that he could offer any thing new or particularly worthy of their attention; but, on so grave an occasion, the general expression of individual opinion might, he thought, be attended with a beneficial effect. When they looked over the correspondence, it was impossible not to be struck by the unstatesmanlike letter addressed by the Earl of Buckinghamshire to their executive body. *(Hear! Hear!)*. It was characterized by a want of temper, prudence, and respect, which he could not have expected from such a

quarter. The hon. Proprietor (Mr. Hume) had endeavoured to justify that letter, by a comparison with the correspondence of a former period, and by introducing an extract from a letter, which was equally intemperate. But, did he mean to contend, that an offensive letter written in 1793, was an apology for an offensive letter written in 1813? What did my Lord Buckinghamshire say in that letter? "They," the Ministers, "have not felt that it was within the range of their duty to engage in a controversy upon the point at issue." This language was certainly not what the situation of the East-India Company entitled them to expect. But it was not merely the *manner*, but the *matter* of this letter which was so objectionable. In it, Ministers seemed to have taken up the principle of the American government—a principle which had been so much deprecated by them. The Americans say, "give up the right of taking your seamen from on board our ships, and we will tell you how we intend to prevent their entrance in future." *(Hear! Hear!)* So says the noble lord—"give up the point of opening your trade, both export and import, without restriction, and then I will tell you what are the rules and regulations by which the dangers you apprehend shall be obviated." *(Hear! hear!)* There was much of the feeling of

the *dictator* in this proceeding—certainly very little of the mild and conciliating spirit of the *negociator*.

But, whatever were the terms in which it had been made, the proposition was too objectionable to be attended to. The noble lord called on them to give up the India Trade, on which the hon. Chairman had shewn the safety of their China trade, depended. The hon. gent. (Mr. Hume) had been labouring to prove that it was a losing trade; admitting that to be fact, still, if it was the safeguard and barrier of the China trade, it ought to be retained. They were not called upon to open it for the benefit of the nation at large, but to enable one part of the people to enrich themselves at the expense of the other. What right, he would ask, had the traders of the Outports to take the bread out of the mouths of their fellow traders in London?—If the question were merely commercial, the arguments of the hon. gentleman would be somewhat less objectionable—and the petitioners might have a right to expect a participation. But it was very different; and those who argued it merely as a commercial question, took a narrow and contracted view of it. Such was the view taken by those who had raised this delusion through the country.

The cry of "*no Monopoly*" had been set up; and, like the wicked and senseless cry

of "*no Popery*," seemed to have been adopted for the purpose of saving its promoters the trouble of adducing arguments. But where were the proofs of this monopolizing spirit to be found? were they to be seen in the wisdom and humanity which had distinguished their government in the great empire committed to their charge? They should look to the 5th Report on India Affairs for an answer to this question. Or were they to be found in the sacrifices which they had made for the benefit of the country? They should look to their items of expenditure for an answer to this. Or were they to be found in the conquests they had achieved abroad? They should look for an answer to their public records. No, their monopolizing spirit was no where to be found, but in the minds of those who expected to raise their own fortunes on the ruin of the Company. And could it be believed, that this great and mighty system, was to be put to hazard by the clamours of the prejudiced and the interested? Was it to be believed, that an establishment which had promoted the honor and greatness of the empire at home, and the welfare of an immense territory abroad, should be swept away, for the purpose of trying a chimerical experiment? That a weak and wavering administration should catch at such a mode of supporting themselves,

was easily to be imagined; but that the wisdom of Parliament could be brought to acquiesce in so dangerous an expedient, an expedient destructive to the constitution, and ruinous to the country, was not within the verge of credibility. They should then be true to themselves: they should appeal to the honour of Parliament—whatever was their determination, it would have justice for its basis. And, perhaps, it might be well to recollect, that a former attempt to break down the establishments of the Company, from views of personal ambition, ended in the ruin of the minister who had made it. *(Hear!)*

He had now only to express his cordial assent to the resolution which had been submitted by an hon. gentleman (Mr. Weyland) and to signify the great pleasure he derived from witnessing the unanimity with which they had been acceded to by the rest of the Court.

Mr. *Bosanquet* began by observing, that after a period of more than thirty years, during which time the Court had done him the honor of placing him there as a Director behind the bar, he should feel deficient both in justice to himself and in duty to the proprietors, if, on a question of such importance, he could remain silent.—The circumstances which had occurred during that time, the prominent situa-

tions which he had filled, must have given him, without presuming to possess superior ability, a more enlarged view of those subjects which were connected with the interest of the Company, than could possibly be attained by those who had not the same local advantages.

He only feared that he should be compelled to trespass for a considerable length of time on the indulgence of the Court. The question was so extensive, it embraced so many interests, it was of such extraordinary a magnitude, that it was impossible for him to take a confined view of it. All he could promise was, as far as he was able, not to wander from the subject under discussion. The Court might, perhaps, think his view of it too extensive, but they would find, that every thing which he should state would be necessary, for bringing those pictures before the eye of the public, which he wished to exhibit, in order at once to develope the matters connected with that great question, and he hoped to answer the objections which had been recently offered. The first object of inquiry, he conceived, ought to be the Indian empire. This was the apple of contention; but he trusted it would not prove, in the end, the apple of discord: he hoped this would not be the case, nor did he see why it should be so.

(*Hear! hear!*) Every man was entitled to form an opinion, and where a contrariety of sentiments prevailed, truth was likely to be elicited by the collision; if he merely stated what he really felt, and expressed himself with that attention to the opinions of others which ought on all occasions to be observed, he thought that no man, under any circumstances whatever, should blame him for his frankness and candour.

He had already observed, that he thought the first object was the Indian empire. If the Court would have the goodness to consider the map of India, they would see, that, from Cape Comorin to their possessions, somewhere about Delhi, comprised an extent of sixteen or eighteen hundred miles; presenting, on the one side, an almost uninterrupted line of sea coast, from Cape Comorin to their possessions in Bengal; and, on the other side, from that Cape to Bombay, with the exception of the dominions of the Pashwa, presenting, also, an immense extent of coast: fringed with creeks and bays, and studded with islands. The interior of the Peninsula was held partly by the Company, and partly by independent states. He had never heard what the population of these extensive countries exactly was, and he believed it was impossible to tell very precisely; but he should

suppose, that from fifty to sixty millions was not very much beyond the bounds of calculation.

If at the same time the proprietors would look to the other possessions in India, partly held by the Company, and by the Public, they would see at once the immense magnitude of the territory now possessed by Great Britain in that quarter of the globe. The dominion of this country extended over part of Ceylon, the Molucca islands, Batavia, Prince of Wales Island, part of Java, the Isle of France, and what may be called the keys of the eastern territories, the Cape of Good-Hope. Whether it was prudent to take so extensive an empire, under our Government, it was not for him to determine—whether it might be better managed by the Crown or by the East-India Company, it was not now necessary to discuss; but some facts, he might state, which could not be contradicted; one of these was, that the territories were acquired without one shilling expense to the country, except what they had had in common with the rest of their fellow subjects, the support of his Majesty's fleet. He was sure he might say, that even those parts, of which the Crown had taken possession, were, in a great measure, subdued at the expense of the East-India Company. He also might venture to assert, that all the Company got in return for these services, was an exclusive trade to

India and China; but, if that trade had been carried on to as large an extent in the hands of the Company as if the public had possessed it, the Country at large had lost nothing, and could have no right to complain. It was true the Company had benefitted by that trade; but if it had been pushed by their means to its greatest possible extent, then he contended that their gain had been no way detrimental to the Nation.—And he begged leave to say, as he had heard it loudly and distinctly asserted, "that the kingdom had suffered considerably by this immunity," that the position still remained to be proved. Every man might give an opinion; but, after all, "the proof of the pudding would ultimately be in the eating." *(A laugh.)*

He professed himself firmly to believe, that the trade to and from India was as large, or larger, in the hands of the Company, than it would have been if an exclusive possession had not been granted to them. The necessary consequence of what he had stated was this—"if these territories had been conquered by the country, they must have been afterwards either surrendered, or else supported at a considerable expense to the empire in general. These countries had been obtained; he thought no doubt could be entertained as to what ought to be done in the present case; every effort should be made to retain them. Without

going into the argument, whether it was policy for a country, with a population of from twelve to fifteen millions, to take possession of kingdoms so extensive, he apprehended in this point it must be perfectly clear, that the surrender of any of these possessions, would be a surrender to the only power in Europe capable of keeping them or of destroying us. (*Hear! hear!*) He thought he might venture to assert, that the loss which would ensue to Great Britain would only tend to aggrandize France, a country already too powerful. And if India were once under the dominion of a French force, the Chinese might tremble for their Empire, and our whole Eastern commerce would be annihilated for ever. This was not a question, then, which related only to the port of London—the merchants of the outports, —the East-India Company, or even to Great Britain herself;—it was a question involving the interest of the world at large; for the strength of Great Britain is the strength of the civilized part of the globe. (*Hear! hear!*)

Happily for us a star had risen in the North—God send that it may continue to shine; and God send that this power, which has so recently made a glorious struggle in defence of her rights, may, with the assistance of Great Britain, be able to save us and the enslaved Continent from

the iron hand of military despotism. The first question arising from the points he had stated, was, in what manner it was proper to hold the empire of India? Were he called on to give a theoretical opinion, it would be this—that it ought to be held in that way which would be most beneficial to the general interests of the empire at large; but then he should attach to that opinion, an observation—that what would be most beneficial to the empire at large, must be that which would maintain the Indian empire in safety and security. *(Hear! hear!)* As the Court must know, as it will consider the importance of the connection, that we are removed upwards of 3000 miles from India,—so will it acknowledge that the chains and links which attach it to this country, ought to be strong. There was another point which should not be omitted—it was a part of their duty to hold the Indian empire with justice to fifty millions of people, whom they were called on to govern; and this he hoped would never be lost sight of either by the East-India Proprietors or by the Government.

After the opinion he had given on the theoretical part of the subject, were he called upon to state exactly what he conceived ought to be done, he should feel it most difficult, from every consideration he had been able to give the ques-

tion, to point out a clear and distinct course. His reading was not very extensive,—but he recollected a circumstance stated in history, when one of the ancients was asked his opinion of the nature of God,—he requested a day to consider of it; when that had elapsed, he was as undetermined as before, and requested two days;—at the termination of that time he begged to be allowed three days more; still finding the subject beyond his comprehension,—he declined any further consideration of it,—his own mind had been no less puzzled and perplexed by the practical part of this important question,—the Court might therefore conceive with what wonder he had seen men, from the North and from the South, giving a clear, and distinct, and decided opinion on a subject, which perhaps they had never before considered, and which from a want of local and practical experience it was impossible they could be acquainted with. Some persons, who were learned commentators on the works of others, tell us, that "India cannot be held in any other way than by sending one of our own princes to govern it." Whether this proposition was made from a feeling, that the connection with the Royal family at home, would secure the empire to the mother country, he could not de-

termine; but every person must be aware, that this was a foundation which never was, nor ever could be lasting—nor was such an event ever likely to take place; because, a Prince placed on any throne, in justice to those over whom he was placed, ought to study only the good of his own subjects, with an undivided feeling, which could not be expected nor accomplished, where two empires with different interests had at the same time, a claim upon his attention.

Another gentleman started up and said, that, "in every point of view, *monopoly* is objectionable." This was not a new discovery nor a new principle; we all know it is a restraint,—but we also know, that all Government is an infringement upon natural rights; yet, in a state of society, men must give up a part, to secure what was of greater importance, a whole. Another says, "if the present Company will not comply with the demand of the public, let another exclusive Company be formed." The gentleman who gave this advice, reminded him of a teacher of languages who utterly scorned the rules of grammar, only because he was entirely ignorant of them. He ought to know, that though the exclusive *trade* to India and China was not granted *in perpetuo*, the corporation might exist, and an exclusive trade could by law be granted to no

other Company; no other corporate body could exist, as an East-India Company, while the present was in being. But while his mind had been occupied in studying these points, from the experience he possessed and the information he procured, others had taken a shorter cut, and had outstripped him in coming to their conclusions.

If it were his duty, in the present instance, only to point out errors, it would not be a very difficult task. In the Board of Control, in the Court of which he was a member, and even in the Court of Proprietors, something might be pointed out which called for a remedy. But his mind had been relieved from all these difficulties, by the successive statements of His Majesty's ministers, that the present system with some alterations ought to be continued. In the outset, a point of discussion had been introduced, which surprised him very much—that point was, whether the *Sword* should remain with the Company? that had since been given up, and the dispute was now about the *Purse*. He knew of but two principles on which men could be governed; *hope* and *fear*; and if either of these principles was withdrawn, the authority of the governor must be destroyed, no empire can be shewn to exist upon any other foundation. It

therefore, astonished him, to find any person could imagine it possible to carry on the Indian government, with the possession of only one of these engines!

If he were inclined to make any observations with respect to the conduct of His Majesty's ministers, it would be this:—with all deference and respect, to them as an individual, they must have been to blame either in expressing *so strong* an opinion with respect to a continuance of the present system; or in stating *so slightly* that it might be given up, if the Company did not agree with what they had propounded in the last letter from the Earl of Buckinghamshire. They must necessarily be wrong, on one or other of these points. If the system were a good one, it ought not to be overturned from any trifling consideration; if it were not good, so strong an opinion of its excellence ought not to have been expressed.

He could wish to make a few observations on the subject of the difference between the Company and His Majesty's ministers.—— Government were of opinion, that the condition they offered on the part of the outports, would not be attended with any material inconvenience; on the part of the Directors, it was contended, that it would be accompanied by very great inconvenience indeed; and it be-

came them to examine both sides of the question, in the way he had stated it, for on this point it was absolutely necessary to make a stand. Now, he was sure that materials existed in that House, to shew that the Indian commerce could not be extended farther than it had been; and any endeavour to extend it further was a most dangerous experiment, which would probably be attended with such disastrous consequences, as should not be hazarded for an object of mere speculation.

He felt extremely sorry, that, in discussing this question, as he wished to do, he was obliged to carry his auditors back to the East; but without doing so, it was impossible for him to discuss the point upon which so much difference existed. They ought, in the first place, to look to India, with a view of enquiring, whether it were possible to find in that country a more extensive market for the manufactures of Great Britain. India was generally stated to have enriched almost every nation who had had any connection with that country; but, in what way that enrichment had taken place, was not so clearly pointed out. There was no doubt of the fact, we found it mentioned even in Scripture; and history informed us that the Tyrians, the Phœnicians, and all the other countries who had a subsequent connection with India,

became wealthy by trading with it. How they obtained their wealth, was not, however, stated. It certainly was not by the gold and silver of India, for she had no mines. It was, therefore, probably effected by those commercial nations becoming the carriers for other countries; for it was generally found that those who acted as carriers of merchandise between different kingdoms became rich by this traffic; he believed it might be affirmed, that if India had not absorbed a great part of the precious metals brought from America, they would be far more plenty than they now were. But though India was not possessed of gold or silver mines, yet it had a most fertile and easily cultivated soil; and he conceived that one of the principal foundations of the riches of a country must be the produce of the earth. If food was grown in such plenty that the labour of one person could provide sustenance for four or five, the rest might be employed in manufactures. This he considered to be the case in India; the manufactures were not numerous certainly; but food was so easily procured, the inhabitants could be supported for so little, that they were enabled to manufacture goods at a rate sufficiently cheap to admit a competition with all other establishments. And in the working of cotton, which was one of the manufactures and of the growth of that country, they had arrived at such

perfection, that he was satisfied if a free import, without duties, were permitted into this, they could compete even with our own manufactories, although we had the advantage of those facilities afforded us by the use of machinery: there was a superiority in cotton wrought by the hand, which never could be found in that wrought by machinery; the latter, in carding it, being cut to pieces, the other being drawn out by hand to the whole length of its fibre rendered the India cottons by far the more durable. Thus they saw one of the articles of their manufacture could be produced in such astonishing quantities, as could not be credited, if the moderate price of food was not known.

What else did India possess? She possessed silk, which might be produced to almost any extent, and the East-India Company might assume some credit for attempting to encourage the increase of that commodity as far as possible; as a Director of the East-India Company, he might perhaps entertain one opinion, but as a public man another, and still he thought that, on this point, it might be an exceedingly nice question, whether it would be most advantageous for the nation at large to receive their silk from India or from Italy, if that country were in a state of freedom; and he would tell them the reason,—because

there was no doubt but that the silk of Italy was received as the price of *the manufactures of this country*, and the silk of India, if carried beyond a certain point, could be purchased in no other way than by *gold* and *silver*.

India also grew indigo, which might be cultivated to an indefinite extent. He had been happy to hear, on a former day, that justice was done, in a certain degree, to the East-India Company, for the encouragement they gave to the propagation of that article; but he did not think that *full* justice was done them, therefore he would venture a few words on the subject. In speaking of the protection afforded by the Company to the Indigo manufacture, there was one material point omitted—it should be made known, that, during the period of the last war in India, during the greatest distresses of the Company, from 50, to £100,000, per ann. were advanced to the indigo merchants, while the Company, for want of funds, were hardly able to carry on the war. The indigo merchants had stated, that they could not proceed unless aid was afforded them, and aid was supplied from the Company's funds, though they could very ill afford to spare it. *(Hear, hear!)*—He confessed, when he had sometimes heard the statements made to the public, relative to the conduct of the East-India Company to-

wards the Indigo manufacturers, it struck him as having something like the appearance of a dog rising to bite the hand of his master, from whom he had received kindness and protection. *(Hear! hear!)*

Besides indigo, a large quantity of Saltpetre was produced in the East-Indies. This was an article of very great concern at the present time, and one which, he believed, the French were under the necessity of obtaining from us. How they got it, he did not know; but he had reason to suppose that such was the fact. The Company's Indian territories also produced Sugar, Spices, Coffee, Pepper, and Tin,—Porcelain, in the greatest variety, could be procured from China: Copper they did not possess in themselves, but it could be brought at a very cheap rate, from a neighbouring country—Timber also, they possessed in the greatest abundance and of the most perfect quality, and Hemp also. Now, he would ask, what it was possible for a country like this, possessed of such resources, to want from others? They could also manufacture a variety of other articles if they pleased, but they do not want them.

It really had astonished him to hear the language which had been held as to the *surplus produce* of India,—she will grow any thing you want, it is

true, but you must give her in return, gold and silver, for she will take hardly any thing else, and this was proved by the American trade; for you cannot expect, and she will not give you her produce for nothing. The merchants of that country, although they had the world open to them, to select what articles they pleased for the India market, yet they were obliged to purchase their cargoes by the precious metals, with few exceptions, a small quantity indeed of wares and merchandize being taken in exchange. There was no doubt whatever, if you provided gold and silver, that India would furnish almost every description of produce; but it was also as clear, that, in return, she would take nothing from you but the precious metals.—In corroboration of what he had said, and to prove that India had been absorbing all the gold and silver of the world, he had an official paper in his possession, from which it appeared, that £2,997,000, per annum, were paid to that country in bullion, upon the average of the last seven years—during a period in which this country had found herself reduced to the alternative of attempting to turn our paper into gold and silver, by act of Parliament. If he understood this matter rightly, he believed it was perfectly impracticable for them to find a

vent, of any great magnitude for the disposal of their manufactures in India; and standing as a Director of the Company, he should be deserving of the severest censure, if he supported, what he conceived to be a mere delusion,—he did not mean to contend, that those who held a different opinion, did not believe themselves right; but as far as he could judge, from the best information, an extension of the trade to India was not practicable.

There was another point which would decide his mind, if the circumstances he had stated had not sufficiently done so already. Situated as the India Company was at that moment, the remittances required from India, must be so large as to bear down any trade that should be attempted to be carried on in opposition to them. —This remittance must be settled before a trade can exist; and he was stating this in the face of merchants, who knew the fact. The person who wishes to remit had no alternative. He must do it at any price. If, for instance, he lent money on a West India estate, and the proprietor lived in this country, till that money was paid, no trade could exist: *coûte qui coûte*, let the remittance be what it may, it *must* absolutely be sent. By turning to page 56 of the printed correspondence, and by a reference to what he should

state, the sums that must be paid at the present moment would appear; and he could not resist detaining the Court by making a few comments on the figures, there introduced. The accounts could certainly have been more satisfactorily stated in that paper; but the Company forbore to make any alteration. These accounts were called for by the House of Commons, he believed, without any reference whatever to the renewal of the Charter; and as they had gone forth, the Directors thought it more fair to make use of them, in their present state.

By the statements, in page 56, it would be seen that the whole of the trade brought on an average from India to Europe and America, by the Company, by individuals, and by foreign nations, amounted annually to about £3,800,000. Now, they should look to what the country must receive from India in remittances. In the first place there was £850,000 for territorial expences. Perhaps, if they entered very accurately into this item, a discussion might arise, whether some small part of it ought not rather to be placed to another account; and, therefore, to obviate that, he would reduce it to £800,000. But the Court must feel with him, that if the country paid this sum, no matter in what way, for the Indian territory, that territory must reimburse them in

some manner or other. There was also a large debt due in India, to the amount of twenty or thirty millions, the interest of which was somewhere about fifteen hundred thousand pounds. Now, by the terms on which the loans constituting this debt stood at present, the whole of that interest might be drawn upon the Company by the persons concerned, if they choose to do so; and they had been informed by their servants abroad, that they expected the Company would be called upon for one million per annum. Now this one million, forming part of this debt, if demanded to be paid in England, remittances must be sent from India to meet that demand, whether the exchange was favourable or unfavourable. The next was a sum disbursed annually here, to keep up their military establishment, in stores, cannon, guns, and a variety of other articles, amounting to £300,000. These sums formed a total of £2,100,000, which must be remitted to this country, let that remittance come in whatsoever shape it might. The next was a sum of £500,000, exported by individuals, and which must in a similar way be returned, and could not be carried out in a manner more beneficial to the country; being disposed of in the purchase of a great variety of articles manufactured in England. Yet if that sum went out, it was necessary that it should

come home again. There was also a sum of near £500,000 exported by the captains and officers, to which the same argument would apply. There were a variety of sums arising from the savings of the Company's servants in India from the interest of property belonging to persons in this country but left in India; these might be taken together at the whole a sum of £500,000. There was also a sum sent out by the Company in the shape of trade, which might be about £500,000. The sum sent out in this shape must of course be returned, but evidently could not be more usefully employed for the public. The whole of these items put together amounted to £3,600,000, whereas the amount of the trade was about £3,800,000.

From this sum of £3,600,000, he observed, that, to the amount of £500,000, according to the best of his judgment, the returns might be made from India through China, and here he wished to discharge his mind of a debt of gratitude due to a nobleman of distinguished abilities. He always considered a return of this description from China as a matter of great moment. It was but justice to say, that Mr. Hastings had his eye on it; and that Sir John Macpherson and subsequent governors also attended to it. But it was right that the public should know, that the

matter was ultimately effected by the Marquis Wellesley; to him the country was mainly indebted for procuring returns from India through China to an extent before unknown; and who by that measure prevented this amount from being sent there in bullion which could not now be found. Subtracting this sum, it would reduce the calls they had on India to £3,100,000, whereas the whole amount of trade to every part of America and Europe, as he before observed, was only £3,800,000, which only exceeded the remittance by £700,000, and would only do so by £200,000, if the whole interest of the debt was drawn for. Now, he would ask, was there a possibility of extending the export of manufactures farther, under the circumstances he had stated? and was there not a greater likelihood, that the East-India Company would be reduced to ruin, by throwing open the trade, than that the expectations which had been delusively raised, would be really satisfied?

He now begged permission to make a few cursory observations respecting what had fallen from an hon. Proprietor (Mr. Hume), and he hoped he might be allowed to say, that many parts of his speech evinced great ability, though he entirely disapproved of his conclusions. His task was one of great difficulty, but he was sure no man could have performed it in a more able

manner. The hon. Proprietor stated, that a very large increase of trade had taken place in consequence of the facility granted to the private traders in 1793. That was true: still there was a wide difference between stating the truth and the *whole* truth. If he had wished to do justice to that part of the subject, he ought to have shewn, that previous to 1793, a large trade of privilege was carried on by the Captains and Officers of the Company's ships, which was not altered by the regulations of that year; therefore, in describing the amount of the trade at a subsequent period, that part of it which was carried on under the privileges so granted to the officers, ought to have been stated, and they could not come to a certain conclusion on this point, without they knew what proportion of the trade, in that season, belonged to those privileged persons. If it should be found that the privileged trade was greatly decreased; the accession of private-trade ought not to be considered as new, but rather as a transfer from A. to B.—from the captains to the private traders. But, at all events, whether increased or decreased, *it ought* to be taken from this hon. gentleman's calculation. The accounts which the hon. gentleman produced on this point, appeared more calculated to lead them into error, than to direct them to a correct conclu-

sion. He had entered at length into the subject of the detention of the Company's ships in India — this he conceived was unnecessary, because, as it was agreed, on all hands, that the port of London should be placed on a new footing, by permitting private individuals to navigate their ships as they pleased, his observations did not apply to the present subject.

Now, he would endeavour to state shortly what appeared to him to be the jut of the argument between them and His Majesty's Ministers.— They said no material inconvenience would arise to the Company from the opening the trade to the outports—the way in which the matter struck him was this—that all the *ad valorem* duties at present chargeable upon different articles, must be altered, and for this reason, because he thought it was absolutely impossible to retain *them* at the outports, where no means existed to find the value of those articles. Therefore the *ad valorem* duties must be abrogated in those ports, and some other mode substituted. This, he admitted, was a fiscal regulation, but it might, nevertheless, be attended with considerable difficulties, it possibly might cause a rise in duties; from what they had seen, they might rest assured that it would not produce an abatement.

The next consequence would be, that the

Merchants in the city of London must be put on the same footing with those of the Outports; their duties must be the same. *They* would likewise go to the House of Commons and require, not as a boon, but as a right, that if East-India products were sent to the warehouses of private merchants at the Outports, they should also be sent to the warehouses of the merchants of London; and then, the whole of their arrangements with His Majesty's late Government would be totally done away, and the complete destruction of all the plans which had been devised at the India House, for the purpose of collecting and keeping this trade together, must immediately follow.

There was another point which was also worthy of attention. Was it possible to conceive that the trade could be carried on by the Company, and also by the Public, at the same time in different manners? Were the sales to proceed by public outcry at the East-India House, and by individuals in a different way, it must undoubtedly create that confusion which they all united in deprecating. He would not say alterations might not be made judiciously; but a very strong case indeed should be adduced on the other side, to justify the terms which had been offered. With respect to the facility of communication with India, of the dangers to

be apprehended from which, a great deal had been said, he, on his conscience, believed, that it would be attended with most injurious consequences to the interests of the country. He thought the only effectual control that could be devised, for checking improper conduct on the part of the private merchants, would be by compelling them to submit their journals for examination, at the East-India House, or before some other body appointed for that purpose; otherwise there could be no sort of protection, either for the natives of that country or for the prosperity of this. The dangers to be apprehended from smuggling appeared to him to be very great. The inroad on public duties, he feared, would be most extensive. He might entertain an erroneous idea; but what would be the situation of the public and of the East-India Company, if it turned out that he was right? What would be the consequence, if the immense duties on tea should be evaded? To answer such defalcation, new taxes must be imposed on the shoulders of the people.

The duty on tea he allowed was a tax,—but it was a very easy one,—and if that were impaired some substitute must be thought of, which would probably be felt more severely. They must also recollect this, that the duties on tea could not be broken down, without their profits being broken

down also; and they were profits absolutely necessary to prevent their whole establishment from being a burden on the Country. Now, if all these mischiefs were likely to arise from the extension of the trade, and from any misapprehension of the subject, Ministers should carry the measure, would not the Ministers themselves and the Country at large have a just right to censure them if they had not plainly and boldly stated all these facts? *(Hear! hear!)*

He allowed that His Majesty's Ministers were capable of forming an opinion on this question: but it might in some degree be influenced as theirs might be, either by misapprehension or by Interests. It was the duty of the Company, therefore, to state the true circumstances of the case, broadly and fairly, that the Public might form a judgement on the point in dispute. For his part, he thought the proposition made to them was neither more nor less than an endeavour to run speculation against practice *(hear! hear!)*; and so feeling, it was his duty to speak out on the occasion. At the same time, he allowed that he might be mistaken. Still it was his duty to speak his undisguised opinion; the public might find others wiser, but he was sure they would not find one whose intentions were more honest.

If the Court would permit him to allude a

little ludicrously on so grave a subject, he would recall their minds to that period which the heart sometimes delights to be brought back to,—he meant the hours of childhood. Gentlemen might recollect an old riddle sometimes offered to children for their amusement, which he considered not inapplicable to this question, and which he would take the liberty of repeating:

"Humpty-Dumpty sat on a wall,
Humpty-Dumpty had a great fall;
All the King's horses and all the King's men,
Could never put Humpty-Dumpty together again."

(Bursts of laughter and applause). Now if all their establishments should be overturned by this measure—if their warehouses should be rendered useless—if their extensive arrangements should be destroyed—if the large duty now levied on the China trade should be annihilated—if the profit of the East-India Company should be diminished—if the revenue of the country should be seriously injured—if the docks should be dismantled, and the ships dispersed—then we may say,

"That all the King's horses and all the King's men
Will never put Humpty-Dumpty together again."

(Laughter and applause). A house might be pulled down in a single day, but to build one up required a considerable period of time; therefore, he confessed, when he had

seen persons speaking so decidedly in favor of the adoption of this remedy, for evils, which he believed were imaginary, he had felt great surprise; for it seemed to him much better to try what could be improved in systems already established, than to exchange them for speculation and experiment: the observations which some people had made, that our connection with India was, in truth, an unnecessary one, had not been viewed as it ought. Those who entertained this sentiment believed, that, after the intended change, the Empire would still remain perfect in all its parts; but he was of opinion that the steps about to be adopted were likely to have a very different effect.

The hon. gentleman concluded by stating his thanks to the Proprietors for the attention which they had shewn him. He had avoided professions as much as he could; for, in his humble apprehension, the characters of men ought to be read in their lives and actions, and not in their professions; the one might be fallacious, the other could not; and he hoped that as far as his actions have been developed, he might be permitted to declare, that his heart was his country's — his gratitude belonged to those from whom he had received benefits—and his conscience was between himself and his Maker. *(Loud applause).*

Mr. *Grant* (the Director) said—that in the writings of the executive body, on the subject which now agitated the Proprietors and the public in general, they had stated the dangers of the proposed innovation to be of two kinds; political and commercial. He need not repeat to them the particulars, wherein these several dangers consisted, he would proceed to observe, that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Hume) had fallen in with the opinions of those, who considered the political danger as merely chimerical, and the commercial part to be the only question of real importance. Those gentlemen, who, in the former debate, so well illustrated the dangers of a political nature, as to shew that part of the question to be transcendent, and to absorb the other; had adduced such triumphant arguments, that there was not the least occasion for him to enter on that division of the question; they had also replied to many of his observations of a commercial nature, and particularly an honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. R. Jackson) now present, had distinguished himself by his arguments on that occasion, as he had frequently done on others. Mr. Grant thought, however, there was still room for some further remarks. The hon. Proprietor had come prepared with a mass of papers containing the statements of many years,

which no gentleman could foresee, and it was extremely difficult to follow them on hearing them read in Court; but he (Mr. Grant) had endeavoured to collect the matter of them, and as they were statements more immediately calculated to fall in with the prejudices of the present day, they ought to be distinctly met; and that was the task which he had imposed upon himself. *(Hear! Hear!)* A task which, though it was peculiarly unfavorable to a speaker, might be of great use to the cause of truth; and for the sake of that object he was willing to sacrifice his own personal consideration. *(Hear! Hear!)*

The Court would be aware from what he had already said, that he meant to confine himself chiefly to the commercial part of the subject. Two of the most important arguments advanced by the Court of Directors, were, in the first place, "that there can be no material increase in the exportation of the productions of this country, for the consumption of the natives of India, than at present exists;" and, in the next, "that it is not practicable to increase, in any material degree, the vent of Indian productions, in this country." These two positions they had defended in their writings. They had argued, that, from the customs, habits, climate, and

religious prejudices of the natives, and from the state of society amongst them, it was not possible to introduce any general consumption of the manufactures of this country. He referred, for the truth of this assertion, to the experience of past ages. From the time of the Romans to the present day, it had not been found practicable to introduce amongst the inhabitants of Hindostan, articles of European manufacture for general use. Against these declarations of experience, sanctioned by history, and within the knowledge of multitudes belonging to this Company, and acquainted with the Indian world, were produced declarations of a contrary kind, from those who had petitioned parliament, and who had had no connection with the Indian trade. There was no argument in these petitions so common as the practicability of encreasing the export of manufactures to an incalculable extent.

In order that the Court might be able to judge of the species of reasoning urged by the advocates for an open trade, he had abstracted from some of the petitions laid on the table of the House of Commons, certain passages, which he should now, with the permission of the Court, read. The first was from the cutlers of Hallamshire, a district in Yorkshire, who stated, that "the annual exports of our manu-

factures to all the regions of the East scarcely amounted to one fifth of the ordinary exports sent to the United States,"—a people, it must be observed, exactly like ourselves in customs and manners, and totally dissimilar from the natives of India. The petition then goes on, "though the former exceed the latter seven fold in extent, and fifty fold in population, but who have little or no want of our commodities, and as little means of purchasing them." The next petition was from the woollen manufacturers of Wiltshire; persons who had long benefited by the Company's custom, and he was sorry to say this was not the only instance in which those who had grown wealthy under the influence of the Company had turned round and attacked them. These petitioners say, "that they have been prevented by the Company's charter, in a very great degree, from supplying an immense population, and that by a removal of restrictions, they would receive orders for goods infinitely beyond those of the Company." The next was from the merchants of Bradford, an inland town in Yorkshire, who state, that "there are many *woollen and worsted articles*, at present unknown in the East, which, through the zeal and enterprize of individuals, might be disposed of in the immense territories

of the north and north-east of India, where there is a great variety of climate, and inhabited by millions of people in almost every stage of civilization;" and they further stated, that "China is a peculiar object of their hope." *(Laughter.)*

The Merchants of Sheffield address the House in a more brilliant strain, and at greater length; they say, that "if the trade of this United Kingdom were permitted to flow unimpeded over those extensive, luxuriant, and opulent regions, though it might, at the outset, like a torrent represt and swollen by obstruction, when its sluices were first opened, break forth with uncontroulable impetuosity, deluging instead of supplying the district before it; yet that at length the waters of commerce might wear themselves channels, through which they might continue to flow ever afterwards in regular and fertilizing streams." They also asserted that where *no demand* existed, the enterprizing spirit of the merchant could have the effect of *creating it*. *(Loud laughter.)* Now, the speech of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Hume), from beginning to end, had a tendency to fortify this delusion. He had endeavoured to shew that our exports to India had been largely extended, that the imports from India had also greatly increased, and both might be extended to an indefinite degree. He

wished to have his expression clearly and precisely understood. He did not mean to say that the hon. gentlemen supposed it to be so; but a delusion did prevail in the minds of the people; and that was a strong reason with him (Mr. G.) for going into a detailed explanation, for the purpose of invalidating the hon. gentleman's statements and the inferences drawn from them.

First, with respect to the exports; he had produced a statement of exports by individuals to India since 1793, and he had thence said that from 1798 to 1807 they had increased five fold, for that in 1798 there were eighteen lacks and a half, and in 1807 eighty nine and a half, being an increase in nine years of seventy-one lacks, or nearly four fold, and he professed to take this from the report of the external commerce of India, the earlier periods of which were printed. Mr. Grant said he must, in the first place, arraign the accuracy of this statement. The hon. gentleman treated the subject as if there had been a regular progressive rise, but the facts did not bear him out in this assumption. It was a fluctuating trade, sometimes less and sometimes more. The accounts on which he founded his statement for the latest years, were in that house, and ought to be no where else, except with the Board of Control: he knew not, therefore,

where he had access to them, or to some of his other computations; but the Court would perceive, that the most accurate standards were the documents received from the different governments of India. But he had next to observe, that the hon. gentleman's comparison of 1798 and 1807, is founded on imperfect data. The reports of external commerce were begun in Bengal in 1795-6, and in the other governments not till 1802; so that where he spoke of eighteen and a half lacks, in 1798, he referred to Bengal only; while the increase to eighty-nine lacks was the increase of all India. Moreover, the sum of 18½ lacks began not with 1798, but with 1795 6, and the increase to 89 lacks was in a period of *twelve*, and not of *nine* years. The fact was, that that was an increase of *three and a half*, in *thirteen* years, instead of *five-fold* in *nine* years.* This commerce also, it must be recollected, consisted of two descriptions—one belonging to the commanders and officers of the Company's ships, the other to the private-traders. The trade carried on by the commanders, existed long before the enlargement in 1793, and was

* Properly speaking, the *encrease* was only, according to Mr. Hume, four times the amount of the sum in 1795-6, according to Mr. Grant two and a half times.

the only private-trade which was then permitted. The trade carried on by both these parties, amounted, in 1795-6, to 18 lacks; when, therefore, the hon. gentleman began his comparison, as if the enlargement commenced with the opening of the private-trade, he was wrong; for the trade by the commanders was admitted long before it.

And here a material circumstance should be noticed. Till the year 1798, the imports from India were low, on an average about 13 lacks per annum; in that year the warehousing act passed, the imports were 31 lacks, and a considerable change took place in Indian commerce. Any persons were allowed to import, without paying the duties, which were very high; the goods being only warehoused for the purpose of exportation at some future time, and he believed goods were not only imported by our merchants, but a considerable quantity was sent here as to a *dépôt*, by persons not belonging to this country. The whole of this trade, therefore, was much swelled by the warehousing act, and by the share which the Company's commanders and officers had in it. The latter persons did not carry on this trade merely as a matter of profit; but, their pay not being sufficient to meet their expenses, as they could get

goods on credit, and had the freight free of charge, they were enabled to carry out their ventures at a cheaper rate than other merchants could, —and were induced to embark in the trade. Yet he believed these ventures were very often attended with considerable loss. The officers were not in the habit of employing any agents—they did the business entirely themselves,—they got merchandize on credit;—and they had freight for nothing; still, with all these advantages, they were frequently losers. He had known persons go out with goods to the amount of £20,000, and, after paying interest and all charges, not have £1,000 of the adventure at the end of the voyage. The proportion of this export to India, carried on by the commanders and officers was very considerable; and it was by no means to be supposed, that they would resign a great deal of it to the merchants.

But there were other strong reasons to account for the increase in the exports since 1793. The number of the Company's ships had been much augmented, and the commanders of course appointed to them, must still carry out goods. What was still more natural, however, the European population all over India, in the same period, had been increased five-fold, by King's troops, now 20,000, whereas in 1793 they

were but a few regiments; by European settlers, and a large navy; all which tended to create the demand for articles manufactured in this country. But this was not wholly an increase of consumption, for if those persons had staid in Great Britain, they must have used our manufactures in a considerable proportion. At the outside, the increase had been but *three-and-a-half* since 1793; and this, in a great measure, arose from the privilege trade of the commanders and officers which existed before that time, and the great increase of European population.

And now he desired to join issue with the hon. gentleman, and to bring his statement in proof against himself. The hon. gentleman had contended for a large increased export, and certainly the increase was considerable. But was there any proof that they had sent a single new article for the use of the natives of India during that time? They certainly had not. The articles were mentioned in a book he held in his hand, and, except a moderate quantity of iron, lead, and tin, and the article of cochineal, which was sent to Bombay, and which was not a produce of this country, all the rest were intended for European consumption. He said therefore that those were important documents, and the facts which resulted from them most important.

Here was an experiment of twenty years, with the trade largely opened, and not one new article of consumption for the natives had been introduced: of articles for personal use or convenience, either to wear, to ornament, to eat, or to drink, not one has been exported to that country for native use. It had been said that diligence, attention, and enterprize, were wanting; and the merchants of Sheffield say, "if they do not *find a demand*, they will *create it*;" but besides adventurers of this country, he knew there were Europeans in India who had as much knowledge as these gentlemen possessed, and as great an avidity to pursue their own interests, who had not found out any of these new sources of wealth and prosperity. There were besides native merchants who purchased goods from Europe to sell again; and was it to be supposed, that if they saw, for one moment, any opening for European manufactures, amongst the native inhabitants, that they would not immediately endeavour to supply them? By way of enforcing this topic, he wished to read a report which had been printed, by an officer in that House, and which gave a particular account of the exports from this country to India. It also gave an account of the tonnage appropriated to the private trade, from 1803-4 to 1810-11 in-

clusive, which appeared to have been 54,000 tons; of this, only 21,800 were made use of by the private merchants; and he had given a list of the most material articles in which that tonnage had been occupied. There were 5,511 tons in wine; beer 2,244; iron 3,000; copper 8,000; oil, spirits, confectionary, preserves, &c. 553. There were also turnery, boots, and shoes, and fifty other trifling articles, all for European consumption, and nothing else; evidently shewing, that there was no article particularly for the use of natives, or differing from what had been sent there before.

Now one strong proof that there had been no great demand of the sort, is, that 54,000 tons of shipping were allowed, and only 21,800 employed. If there had been the least likelihood of procuring a sale for any of the commodities of this country, no man can doubt that more of the tonnage would have been engaged. This was an argument he thought of very great importance. There was an experiment of twenty years—great facility being allowed; yet, during that long period, no one new article of British manufacture for the use of the Indians had been exported to their Eastern territories. The hon. gentleman had mentioned Mr. Colebrook as an authority for his opinion, that the consumption of the

manufactures of this country might be indefinitely extended in India. It had since been stated, truly, that the part of the work to which the hon. gentleman referred, was not the production of Mr. Colebrook, but of a free merchant deceased, and he (Mr. Grant) held the proof of this in his hand on the authority of Mr. Colebrook himself. He then referred to a printed book entitled, "The Husbandry and Internal Commerce of Bengal," published so long ago as 1806; in the preface to which, (though he does not name himself) he writes thus, "the remainder of the original work relates to manufactures and external commerce, and was written by a friend of mine now deceased." It was clear therefore that Mr. Colebrook had disclaimed that part of the work relative to external commerce, no less than six years ago. And he was sorry that his name should be used to give strength and stability to what he must call a delusion. Certainly if a gentleman of his knowledge and experience had come forward and said—"send those manufac- "tures, you will find vent for them in India," it would have staggered him, but he should not have been by any means convinced; for from his residence in that country he was perhaps as well

versed in the subjects connected with their trade and commerce, as Mr. Colebrook.

The hon. gentleman next had recourse to the trade to China—he states that "in 1793, that trade amounted in value to £629,000, and that in 1803, it had increased to £1,300,000;" thus in ten years doubling its original amount. From thence he infers the practicability of still farther extending the exports of this country. Now the fact was, that the commutation act had not fully developed its powers till after 1793,—but he would say more—the Company had been, for many years, in the habit of exporting woollens (purchased from the Wiltshire manufacturers, and others, from those manufacturers who now attacked them) at a considerable loss. This was not done, as the hon. gentleman might suppose, from commercial ignorance or indifference to loss; but from a true policy, which taught them to assist the country, by supporting its manufacturers, when they could do it without sustaining a very material loss; and with the hope of continuing a system, from the excellence of which they had seen so many good effects.

The hon. gentleman then stated that he had concluded what he intended to say as to the exports to India, and he hoped after what he had

stated, that there appeared no ground whatever for the declaration which had been so repeatedly made, that they could extend that trade without limitation. On the contrary, he should only observe, that they could not make an alteration without absolutely changing the nature of those people —which he thought must be a very slow process.—And he hoped that this would be a warning to persons wishing to embark their property in a new trade. To look back to an experience of twenty years, to act with caution and circumspection, could do them no harm; and those who listened to the dictates of prudence in this respect, would probably find their account in it. The high freight of the Company had been considered as checking the private trader; but what was to be said of the loss sustained by the captains and officers who paid no freight? This argument was unanswerable.

He next wished to say a few words on the hon. Gentleman's statement with respect to the exports from India; first to this country, and next to America. The hon. gentleman said, "a large increase in the exports took place in 1793, when the trade was opened, and that there was no reason why the exports might not be extended ten times as much." In the printed Sales of the Company, from the year 1793 to 1809-10, the first

article is, £181,710, on account of privileged and private traders; which, said the hon. Gentleman, "was increased in 1798 to £881,000; in 1810 to £1,747,000." But it would have been as well if he had gone on with the whole account; and he would have found, that it fell, in 1809-10, to £1,129,000. On this subject he should observe, as he had done before, that the warehousing act had made a very material difference by encouraging imports from India.

He would state, in the next place, that this trade from India was in some degree a forced trade; as the captains and officers were obliged to take a proportion of goods. It was also a remittance trade; a certain quantity of the fortunes made in that country being of necessity to be remitted to this, even at a loss, which circumstances had the effect of forcing a trade. Gentlemen would see the difference between property which individuals were obliged to remit, and that placed in the hands of private merchants, who would consider, before they embarked it, what profit they were likely to make. Those who have fortunes to send home, have not an opportunity of thus considering the matter; they must remit their property, even at a disadvantage; but we should look more narrowly into the subject.

The whole amount of Sales at the India House,

from 1793 to 1809-10, of privileged and private persons, was thirty-two millions. (Mr. Hume here observed, "That was not the statement before the public.") The account, Mr. Grant replied, had been carried to 1811-12. The amount of the sales of the privileged trade was 23½ millions, and the private trade 8½ millions, making together 32 millions. Now he had to state that the great cause of increase in these exports from India was, not the opening of the trade in 1793, but arose from the indigo manufacture. And the Company gave permission for the importation of that article in their ships, long previous to 1793; indeed, it existed years and years before that time; and he begged that might be attended to, because it was improper to attribute that to the act of 1793, which was in being before that act was passed. Of the 32 millions of sales, indigo constituted no less than £14,790,000; and, notwithstanding what had already been said on the subject, of that manufacture, he would add a few words more. The Company not only gave the privilege of bringing the article home in their ships, previous to 1793; but to their assistance and support was the success of the manufacture to be ascribed. The culture of this article was introduced in 1783. The Company, and the Company only, purchased it, when it was a losing commodity; and when it was arrived at

more stability, the Company declined the trade and left it to individuals. They went on to the year 1788, still struggling with an incipient business. They then came to the Company's government at Bengal, requesting that relief might be afforded them. He was there at that time, in charge of the Company's commercial affairs, and stated their case to Lord Cornwallis, recommending to his Lordship the propriety of affording protection to this manufacture, as useful to the country, and he agreed to lend them the Company's money, the loan to be repaid from the proceeds of their sale of indigo here, at a fixed exchange. They then went on for ten years further; when (in 1798), soon after the Marquis of Wellesley went to India, they requested a new supply from government, and they got from 50 to £100,000. At this day indigo constituted almost one half of the sales of Indian commodities in Leadenhall-Street; he therefore considered that the sum of fifteen millions, which this article had produced since 1793, was to be ascribed, not to the act passed in that year, but to the previous provisions of the Company.

Another adventitious circumstance favoured this article, and probably without it the manufacture could not have so much prevailed; that was the destruction of St. Domingo, where excellent in-

digo was produced. The manufacturers there were rivalling those in the East-Indies, and had it not been for the circumstances, which put an end to their industry, it was probable that our indigo, manufacture would not have flourished as it had done. Another article, the exportation of which from India had increased ver. much since the year 1793, was raw cotton. The hon. gentleman had touched particularly on these two commodities, as proofs of the great increase of trade since that period; and from thence he inferred that it might be still farther increased. Now with respect to indigo, they could not enlarge the consumption of that article beyond Europe, the whole of which they at present nearly supplied. It was a compact commodity, which laid in a small compass; and where was the necessity of employing the ships of private merchants to carry it from India to this country, when the ships of the Company were already more than sufficient to bring home what supplied all Europe? *(Hear! hear!)*.

With respect to the importation of cotton from India, it was fallacious to think of increasing it. In time of war it costs 10*d.* per lb.; they knew it had been sold at that house far under prime cost and charges,—and it was past doubt, that as

long as the American cotton was introduced into this market, that of India could not compete with it. The Americans were in the habit of supplying one-half of what was manufactured in this country; and when a spirit of hostility was apparent in their acts, it was thought a favourable opportunity to bring home cotton, the growth of our Indian territories. But what was the consequence?—It remained in our warehouses even now. *(Hear!)* When they spoke of trade, it was not enough to state what had been imported, you should also specify whether the articles were sold or not. Now he should state the quantity of cotton and indigo at present lying in the warehouses of the Company, together with the periods they had remained there:

6,600 bales of cotton,	four years in the warehouse,	
30,000 ditto	three years,	
6,000 ditto	two years;	

altogether 42,600 bales, amounting in value to £500,000, lying unused during that long period in our warehouses.

With respect to indigo, a great quantity of that also remained, part sold and part unsold, in that house. The account was as follows;

712	chests,	six years in the warehouse,	
424	do.	five years	do.
231	do.	four years	do.
5,101	do.	three years	do.
1,593	do.	two years	do.
9,180	do.	one year	do.

Making a total of 17,241 chests, of the value of £1,178,000. This was the consequence of exports from India; and this was the sort of trade which the hon. gentleman noticed as an encouragement for the people of this country.

The hon. gentleman had not instanced any other article; and from the statements which he now had the honour of laying before the Court, he thought those did not go to the support of his argument. Why should the petitioners for the opening of the trade wish to import a greater quantity of Indian produce than could be consumed by the country? Would you carry the cotton fabrics of India to Glasgow or Manchester? or would you take sugars to Liverpool or Bristol, for the purpose of rivalling your West India colonies, already suffering under the pressure of a glutted market? With respect to the goods imported here, we had also an experiment of twenty years, down to the present time; and no new article had been introduced except two

—indigo and cotton; of each of which a large portion now remained unsold in their warehouses. What, then, was the encouragement to embark in this trade between Europe and India? and what must be thought of those who would advise others to sink their capital in a speculation likely to end so ruinously for them?

The hon. gentleman had descanted largely on the trade of the Americans with India, as a proof of the practicability of extending the trade at home, and of the impolicy of their monopoly. In the first place, if it were monopoly to admit a neutral nation to the trade with India, why had he charged the East-India Company with it? (Here Mr. Hume motioned dissent.) Whether the hon. gent. meant to do so or not, he must ask if his speech, going out to the country, would not lead the people to impute blame to the Company? But it was not *their* act, it was not *their* fault. *They* were not parties to the treaty of 1794, by which the Americans were admitted to this trade; nor to the act of Parliament of 1797 which admitted all neutrals to it. They had done all in their power to check the abuse of the American privileges in the trade between America and India as soon as they could do so. When the term of the treaty expired, they had obtained the consent of his Majesty's Government to

lay additional duties on the exportation of East-India produce to America, and other neutral countries. *(Hear! hear!)*

With respect to the policy of granting such a liberty to the Americans, there was more to be said for it than might now on first sight appear, and the Government ought not to be censured, on that account, beyond what was proper. When the Americans first appeared in the India seas about 1785, it was a time of peace. Other European nations had settlements in India, by grants from the native sovereigns recognized by us after we obtained territorial dominion. It was then held that those settlements had the power of receiving other European flags into their ports, though the Company now maintain that the grant was intended only for themselves. The import of them indeed he conceived, was, "You have a privilege to carry on trade with your own country, but not to extend the same privilege to other states."—The question with our government then was, whether the Americans should go to the French or Dutch settlements, or be allowed to come to our ports, and purchase from us? The latter policy was adopted.—This, however, was not thought of at the time; and at the commencement, in a time of peace, no

inconvenience was perceived. But the long war which followed the French revolution, gave a new and increased importance to the privileges that had been conceded to the Americans by the treaty of 1794. Their neutral character gave them a safety we could not enjoy; they navigated cheaper, more expeditiously, and were received into the ports of foreign Europe and Spanish America, where, on account of the war, our ships could not go, nor our consignments find admission even circuitously. They also abused the terms of the treaty. It gave them only a *direct* trade between India and America, but their ships visited all the ports of Europe going and coming. At first they benefitted by the rise of British capital, partly that which was to be remitted from India, and partly what was lent them in Europe, but afterwards they were able to trade chiefly on their own, and certainly acquired wealth and importance by that trade. But all was essentially owing to their neutral character, and this in fact enabled them to carry on a trade certainly beneficial to India which we could not carry on ourselves. The hon. gentleman therefore, in declaiming on this trade, had been essentially wanting in not adverting to the true cause of its great extent, the neutral character of

the Americans, which enabled them to do what, had they been out of the way, our merchants could not have done even circuitously.

Mr. Grant then proceeded to examine what the increase of the American trade had been; he thought the hon. gent. (Mr. Hume) was inaccurate also, in his statement of that trade, though he professed to take his figures from the India reports, on external commerce; he had selected those years which were best suited to his purpose, whence he says, that, "in 1799-10 the American exports from India, amounted to nineteen lacks, and in 1809 to 95 lacks; being a *five fold* increase in *nine* years." Now, the fact was, that in 1795-6. the American exports were 19 lacks, and, in 1808 9, only 69 lacks; the increase therefore, in *thirteen* years, was in a ratio of about 3½, instead of *five*, in *nine* years. The trade of the Americans with India was further encouraged by the British Government then, because they carried hardly one thing into that country but *bullion*, which was much wanted there And this was a farther proof of the difficulty of introducing manufactures amongst the natives; for the Americans, who were under no restrictions, carried only a small quantity of wines and trifling wares, but the rest of their Indian cargoes was paid for in bullion. The whole increase of the American

trade, since the revolutionary war, had been 50 lacks per annum. But it was material in considering this increase, to recollect, that during the same period, the trade between India and foreign Europe had declined; and we were not to suppose, because the American exports had become greater, that the exports from India to the western world, this country excepted, had, on the whole, been much raised.—On the contrary, he would venture to assert this position, that the exports from India, to foreign Europe, that is, to all the western world, except Britain, are not now greater than they were forty years ago, when the trade in those exports was in the hands of the French, Dutch, and Danish Companies.—*(Hear! Hear!)*

And he could refer to documents within that House to prove, that the exports in 1768, to foreign Europe, by the French, Dutch, and Danish Companies, were as great as the exports from India to foreign Europe and America were at present. The hon. gent. appeared to shew some signs of surprize at this, but he would take the liberty to state, that he was warranted in what he said, and had indeed been in India at the time.

Mr. *Hume* said, that it was from the year 1793 that he took his data; he certainly was surprised

that the hon. Director should have introduced the year 1768.

Mr. *Grant* continued,—that he had stated this circumstance, merely as a relative observation, illustrating the question now before the Court. He could not mean to mix the transactions of 1768 with the immediate subject in discussion; but he wanted to shew, that the consumption of Indian commodities in the Western world did not progressively advance in the manner which it was the scope of the hon. gentleman's argument to maintain was to be expected. The Indian commodities were chiefly luxuries in the Western world, and the consumption of them must depend on the wealth of the buyers, and be also subject to those fluctuations of market occasioned by particular events. The reason the Americans carried on this trade to the amount they did, was, as already noticed, because they had the South American market entirely to themselves. Besides this, the great extent of America, and the increase, since 1793, of her population and wealth (for wealth was always the consequence of an industrious population), would still farther account for her having embarked so largely in the Indian trade.

The hon. gent. had then touched on another topic. He had said, that the result of the Com-

pany's Indian trade was, that they carried it on to a loss; and the hon. gentleman had quoted on this point, the supplement of the Exposition of the Court of Directors laid before the House of Commons. Now he must complain of the hon. gentleman's want of candour in making this quotation. He had selected one or two years of loss, but had omitted to quote preceding and subsequent years, in which a profit appeared. The supplement to the Exposition laid before that House in 1810, shewed, that though a loss was sustained on the sales, two different years, yet in the following year, 1809-10, there was a profit of £130,754; and in the two following years still more. The whole of the profits from the Company's trade to India, from 1798-9 to 1811-12, was £3,898,000. The loss £750,302, which left £2,4[illegible],000, from which deducting loss by ships foundering, £884,675, and the profit upon fourteen years, with all these deductions, was £1,554,000, which was about £111,000 per annum. The hon. gent. perhaps would object, that this account was not accurate, because the duties were not charged on it. It was true the India duties, which had fluctuated from 2½ to 3½ per cent. were not charged, but the home duties were. This, of course, made an alteration in the profit. It was also true he,

Mr. Grant, had said, on a former occasion, that the Company did not attach any great importance to this Indian trade. This was spoken of it commercially. But they considered it to be of great moment, as constituting a part of the Indian system; as one of the great links of that system, of which, if they were deprived, the whole chain would be broken. *(Hear, hear!)* This was a sufficient answer to the argument of the hon. gent. that they ought to resign a trade which brought them nothing, even were it true that it yielded no gain.

He (Mr. Grant), on the contrary, maintained they ought not to resign it; for, by keeping it in their own hands, they were assisted in performing the functions of the political government, and in upholding that establishment, for the preservation of which they were then struggling against so many unfounded prejudices. When they were called upon to resign that, he conceived they were asked to resign a great deal more than the trade; they were, in fact, called upon to resign the system of Indian political administration. Every considerate and reflecting man must hope with him, that they might succeed in this contest; for he had heard of no argument on the other side of the question sufficient to induce any change that would at all en-

danger that system. He meant not to censure the hon. gentleman for the part which he had chosen to take on this occasion; but he had to complain of his introducing topics quite inapplicable at the present period. He thought the hon. gentleman ought not to have revived all the controversies which had occurred between different bodies and the Company for the last twenty years. Those disputes were now past, and no good whatever could be effected by reverting to them. The interests which occasioned these controversies were now merged in a greater interest, which was common both to the Company and to the other parties. They now had a common object, and allusions to past differences could be of use only in reviving feelings of irritation and dissention. *(Hear! Hear!)*

As the hon. gentleman (Mr. Hume) referred to various opinions upon the question before the Court, and had particularly quoted that of the Marquis Wellesley, he also would beg leave to read an extract from a letter of that noble Lord. When he mentioned the name of that nobleman, on whose character so much eulogium had been pronounced, he wished to avoid every thing that did not bear on the present discussion, or that had any relation to differences of political opinion; but as others had taken occasion to advert

to their opinions on certain past transactions, he felt himself bound to say, that he had seen no reason to change any opinion he might have formerly expressed, either political or commercial, respecting these transactions. He then read the following extract of a letter written by the Marquis Wellesley, dated December 30, 1800, which was most decidedly in favour of the Company's rights.

"It would be equally unjust and impolitic, to extend any facility to the trade of the British Merchants in India, by sacrificing or hazarding the Company's rights or privileges, by injuring its commercial interests, by admitting an indiscriminate and unrestrained commercial intercourse between India and England, or by departing from any of the fundamental principles of policy, which now govern the British establishments in India."

The hon. gentleman, continued Mr. G. has argued, that the intention of the Act of 1793, for enlarging the private trade has not been answered. This he must certainly deny. Whether it was proper to enlarge the trade further, was a distinct question, but he was quite sure that the Act of 1793 was not intended to go so far as the hon. gentleman seems inclined to think. He knew something of the proceedings which then

took place; and he could say, with certainty, that the minister of that day had no idea of carrying the enlargement afterwards to the length to which it had gone. He (Mr. G.) was then friendly to the extension first proposed; because it had for its immediate object to bring to this country by legitimate channels the Indian fortunes, which were then remitted by means of an illicit trade to foreign Europe, a trade hurtful to the interest of the nation and to the morals of the Company's servants. But he must now acknowledge that he would have been much more guarded, had he foreseen the uses that would be made of that first enlargement. He mentioned them then as the hon. gentleman had adverted to the past disputes about the intention of the act of 1793, certainly without necessity, as the Company had since gone far beyond any thing stipulated at that time, and the revival of such questions now could only have the effect of placing the Company in an invidious light with the public, and of sowing the seeds of dissention between parties now united in a common interest.

The hon. gentleman, Mr. G. went on to observe, had treated the whole subject under consideration, merely as a commercial one; but, after long acquaintance with it, he must assert that it was one whose *political*, was infinitely greater

than its *commercial* importance, as it involved the vital interests of the Indian Empire, and the security of the constitution of this country. This ought never to have been forgotten even in discussing the commercial part of the subject.

With respect to the question now at issue between the Government of the Company coming soberly to it, he thought that if any thing ever was made out clearly, it was this, that no rational hope could be entertained of a material increase of the consumption of East-India goods in the western world; nor, on the other hand, of European manufactures in the Eastern Empire.

Now, if they could satisfy the petitioners and the public of this; if those reasonings on which the Company had proceeded in the support of the present system were solidly established; if the truth which had appeared from the statements this day appealed to were generally known; might it not be hoped that the mistaken zeal of those who seemed to be actuated by the desire of hunting down the Company might abate, and that sober dispassionate men might be convinced? With respect to the leaders, indeed, in the attack upon the Company, he feared not—for when men had once set out with feelings of prejudice, and had become heated in the pursuit of

an object, it was extremely difficult to bring them back to impartial reason and reflection—with the principal persons who had taken the lead in procuring petitions against the Company's Charter, from the different towns, it would probably be vain to argue; but it was for the merchants, who were speculating to send out their property to India—it was for them calmly to consider, whether the intended opening could by any means produce the expected benefits; and if not, he would ask them, why they should be so anxious to pull down an ancient and a venerable fabric, which had taken ages to erect? what interest would this serve? what beneficial object would it produce? *(Hear! hear!)*

He wished that this question might be soberly and coolly considered by ministers themselves; though he feared they had advanced so far that it was difficult for them to extricate themselves out of the business, even if they wished it. He could not conceive that their individual opinions favoured the opening of the outports—Lord Melville had been clearly against it. The Earl of Buck-ingamshire had not said, that he was for [illegible] had indeed said little of his own sentiments, or of those of ministers; but he had referred them, the Directors, to the opinions of the petitioners, as contained in their addresses. They

had heard some extracts from them read, and would judge whether they contained arguments by which the national decision should be guided? It did not even appear that His Majesty's ministers, entertained any steady decided conviction of the propriety of opening the outports; he certainly wished they might farther consider that important point, for in short, the question, as to the Company, came now to be whether they were to be sacrificed to the unreasonable clamours which had been raised by manufacturers and merchants? For his own part conceiving that the arguments of the Company were founded in reason, justice, and policy, he hoped the Proprietors would stand firm on the ground they had taken, and that they should be supported by the good sense of the nation at large, and by the decision of a wise and enlightened Parliament.—*(This speech was received with every demonstration of applause)*

Mr. *Morris* said, that he rose for the purpose of stating a fact, which would tend to prove the danger of sending out Europeans to India indiscriminately. Transcendant abilities had been shewn in forming that system by which the security of all their possessions in the East were preserved, and which, if this measure took place, would be utterly overthrown. The hon.

gentleman himself (Mr. Hume) had spoken in the highest terms of the Indian government, as founded on the most equitable principles; dispensing justice with perfect equality, and maintaining the rights and interests of all. He had strengthened that statement by quoting a case, in which the property of a native was protected, and the full measure of justice was dealt out to the offender who had transgressed the law. Now he would call his attention to another fact, —a fact of a different description—of a more melancholy nature. A private trader in India had ill-treated and oppressed the natives,—they did not wait for the slow process of the law,—they did not take their oppressor before a police magistrate,—no,—they rose in a body and massacred Mr. Martin, for that was the gentleman's name. If an unlimited intercourse with India was admitted, might we not expect similar events? might we not suppose that instances of oppression, on one side, and of summary punishment on the other, would frequently take place? He hoped the hon. gentleman would not forget that India was a conquest. He hoped he would not forget that the two ingredients of which all governments were composed are fear and hope. He trusted he would recollect that the Company's government in India rested on the *fulcrum* of

opinion; and that, in all cases, the *many* must be governed by the *few*. He hoped he had made some impression on the hon. gentleman; yet he ought perhaps to beg pardon for having said so much, when the subject had been already so luminously treated by others.

Mr. *Twining* said, there were probably many gentlemen in the room who recollected that, on a former occasion, when the charter was renewed in 1793, he bore some part in that discussion, and he should not have conceived that he performed his duty, after the peculiar obligations which he had received from the Proprietors, who had placed him behind the bar, if he were to remain totally silent in the present arduous and difficult situation of the Company; he should therefore make a very few remarks on the negociation which took place in 1793, and on that which was recently discontinued by His Majesty's Ministers. In addressing them on this topic, it was evident that he need not go into any length of argument; because the situation of the Company had been so ably advocated on that side of the bar, and, he might say, so eloquently urged on the other, as to render it unnecessary for him to take up much of their time. The important lesson which he had learned in the negociation of 1793, was this—it was then ac-

knowledged, by such wisdom as that time produced, that it was better to trust to experience than to hazard the safety of India by chimerical experiments, It was not with the view of merely benefiting that Company, but for the good of the Country at large, that it was then deemed most expedient for them to retain the Territories, and possess the commercial power of the Indian empire, subject to such regulations and arrangements as might be considered necessary. These were the sentiments of the late Lord Melville, who, it was well known, employed his powerful mind for a great number of years on the subject of Indian affairs; and he delivered this opinion, after having maturely weighed the different plans which had been submitted for the government of the Indo-British territories. Now he might be accused as a *laudatur temporis acti*, but he did not think the wisest men of the present day would increase their reputation for wisdom, by rejecting the sagacity and discernment which were displayed by Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville at that period. He knew it was not very pleasant to read extracts from books in public meetings; he would, however, with the indulgence of the Court, read one or two, in the hope that they might not be overlooked in Parliament. Whatever motion might be originated in either

house, on the subject of the East-India Company's charter, he trusted that those who occupied seats in Parliament, and who at present stood in opposition to them, would feel an inclination to be made acquainted with those opinions which were delivered in 1793 by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas. [*The hon. Director then read extracts from the correspondence which took place in* 1793, *containing the sentiments of* Mr. PITT *and* Mr. DUNDAS, *which were distinctly in favour of the Indian system, as it did then and does now exist: vide Appendix.*]

Now (continued Mr. Twining) after such opinions, from such high authority, it could not be without the deepest concern that they saw attempts made in direct contradiction to them. The rights and interests of the Company had been so ably advocated, that he would not trespass on their time by expatiating on them at length. One remark, however, he wished to make, on what had been said with respect to the great increase in the trade to China. He believed the hon. gent. who made the observation, had not taken into the account, the difference which arose from the variations of price, in the articles imported; but he thought he would find that a great part of the apparent increase of the trade, was occasioned, not by an increased quantity of goods imported, but by a

higher value being placed upon them. He knew not whether, if the new measure should really take place, and if they should have to *give up* the Indian trade, or rather, if it should be *taken from them* (for they never could surrender it); he said, he knew not whether they should most have to lament, the *success* or *failure* of the Outports. For, if the plan succeeded, it would be only because a proportion of their trade was transferred from the Company to them; and if it did not, they had recent instances to prove, that the failure would not be supposed to have arisen from the foolish speculations of the merchants themselves, but because there was something yet to give; and they would never be satisfied, till the Company had, by degrees, relinquished every thing they possessed; but, long before that day arrived, the fabric would have fallen to the ground, and the whole territory and commerce of India would have been lost to the Country. It would then be little consolation for posterity to know, that the Company exposed the impolicy of the scheme; that their representations were not attended to; and that they were sacrificed to what he must call, popular clamour.

He would also bestow a few words on the speech of the hon. gent. (Mr. Hume); they would indeed be but few; for most of the argu-

ments adduced by him had been already so fully answered, that he should not be justified in taking up any great portion of their time. He had listened with much attention to the whole of the hon. gentleman's speech, and to some parts of it, with considerable satisfaction. He did not dislike a man because his opinion was different from his own. If an individual stated his sentiments in a proper way—though they might be at variance with his ideas on the subject, yet he thought his claim to attention was indubitable—and he confessed the way in which the hon. gent. took the solitary ground he had chosen, evinced considerable ability. Approving of his conduct so far, if He thought they were all mistaken, and conceived that He knew better, what was for the good of the Company and the Country, than they did themselves, he certainly had a right to come forward and state his sentiments. But if, after what he had heard, he should advise the Court, rather to follow his single opinion, than that of the Proprietors at large, and those who were now in the Direction, and could recommend what had been properly designated a frightful hazard, instead of the existing system, then he thought some considerable degree of censure might fairly be attached to him. The hon. gent. had observed, that the conduct of the Court of Directors implied

a defiance to the Government—he denied the assertion. On this occasion he was certain he was speaking the sentiments of the whole Court of Directors, and he must say, nothing was farther from their intention than the manifestation of defiance. But, when opinions were disagreeable to a party, that party was apt to disapprove of every step taken by their opponents. Now, when it was discovered that the sentiments of the Directors were unanimous on this subject—when they found that it would be impossible to agree to that measure which his Majesty's Ministers had proposed.—He should say, that if, under such circumstances, the plan should be defeated, and they withheld the expression of their opinions from these Ministers, would they not, on some future occasion, take an opportunity of observing, "if you had known the Court of Directors, with whom we were treating to be unanimous in their opinion that it would be improper to recommend to the Court of Proprietors to accede to our proposition, was it not your duty to communicate that fact to us, and not suffer us to proceed in the discussion of a point which would not ultimately be conceded?"

In pursuing the course which they had taken, therefore, no candid mind can for one moment imagine that they were actuated by a spirit of de-

fiance. The hon. gent. had said the India trade was not worth holding, because it was a trade of loss.—He spoke before a Company of merchants, and he asked, if, even in carrying on an ordinary trade, it might not sometimes be necessary, for a certain time, to retail that which was known to be a source of loss—and why? Not because the trader loves a loss—but, because, if he abandoned the article which produces that partial loss, he may, in consequence, forfeit a very great profit hereafter. Now, if that were the case, in a commercial concern, what should we say to the East-India Company, whose extension of this trade was in no point of view unconnected with the political state of the Indian empire? If they were to give up that trade, which occasionally caused a loss, the interest of the East-India Company would follow it, and, therefore, independant of every other argument, the political considerations were sufficient to induce them to retain it.

The hon. gent. had laid some stress on the report of an opinion given to him by a Commissioner of the revenue, who was said to have observed, that there was more smuggling carried on in the River Thames than any where else in England. As far as regards the India and China trade, it was no wonder that there should be more

smuggling than in those places where the products of the East did not and could not come. There had been occasions, in which ships had gone to other parts of the coast, and even to Bristol, but never without there being a manifest additional degree of smuggling, and it was indeed supposed by some, that they went there for that purpose.—What did this prove, except that the Outports afforded additional opportunities of smuggling?—And what was the case in the port of London? Every Captain and Officer received positive injunctions to avoid illicit trade: When the ship arrived in the River, the Company immediately sent out surveyors and inspectors—and an account of all the transactions on board the ships was regularly sent to the India House. But he knew that even all this precaution did not answer the end which was intended. And what would be the consequence, if the trade was opened? Instead of all this care and attention, ships would be hourly arriving in this country, the owners of which, instead of preventing, would be interested in forwarding the illicit trade—and many, perhaps, look alone to that for a profitable return. He could scarcely suspect that a more powerful argument would be given to him, in support of the assertion, that the admission of the import trade to the outports must produce a defalcation

of the revenue than that which the hon. gent. had adduced. In addition, however, to this, he had also the opinion of a Commissioner of the Revenue, somewhat different from that quoted by the hon. Proprietor; for it expressly asserted, that if ships were permitted to go within the landing places of every port here, and in Ireland, smuggling would increase to an enormous degree.

They were now in a situation in which no Court of Proprietors, since he had the honour of being connected with the Company, had ever been placed.—They had had their difficulties and their contests, but they were of little moment compared with the present struggle. They were now contending for their existence—they were now combating for life itself. *(Hear! hear!)*

The interests of the Company would never be abandoned by the Court of which he was a member. If, however, the Court of Proprietors should wish to surrender them, they should feel it their duty, however reluctantly, to obey their command; but he hoped another duty would devolve upon them, and one of a far more pleasant nature. He did not, it is true, like hostility; he would do any thing, short of a sacrifice of duty, to avoid it; but, if it were the opinion of that Court, that they should resist the proposition which had been made to them, they should bear

in mind, that, on a former occasion, a powerful administration was overturned by the firmness and unanimity of the Company, exerted in defence of their dearest rights and privileges. *(Hear! hear!)*

Mr. *Randle Jackson* said, It had been suggested to him, that, at the last meeting of the Court, he did not state the sentiments of Mr. Fox on the subject of the East-India Company's privileges. He referred at that time to the opinions of Mr. Pitt and the late and present Lord Melville, &c.; from the lateness of the hour indeed he certainly had omitted to cite the opinion of Mr. Fox.—That right hon. gent. proposed to make a material alteration in the Company's establishment, with what ulterior views did not appear. The principal feature in the new system which he advocated was the appointment by Government, of seven or eight commercial functionaries, and other officers; but still it was manifest, that he had not in any way contemplated the abandonment of those fundamental principles on which the system of the Company was built. Mr. Fox's declared opinion was, that "if ever the Government took the territorial possessions into their hands, it would be absolutely necessary that the trade should be carried on by a commercial Company, without which, the reven-

ues could not be made available to the interests of the empire." Thus contending for this proposition—that however the functionaries might be altered, the grand principle, that the revenues should only be collected through a Company, should remain in full and unimpaired force. Much dependance had been placed on the opinion of the Commissioners of Excise; but it was worthy of deep remark, that the government, for their own purposes, had most disingenuously insinuated (for the fact would not at all bear them out) that they had met them solely on the efficiency of the measures intended to be adopted for the prevention of smuggling, but this was only part of the question. Their assertion was, "if you destroy *us* you destroy *your revenue*;" this, it was true, was a great political question, without looking to other points, any one of which might produce almost equal danger. All these points however were open for discussion; but as the Ministers had thought proper to take issue on the efficacy of their measures for preventing smuggling, and as the hon. gentleman had bottomed himself on the report of the Commissioners, he hoped he should be allowed to read one passage from that document. At the same time, it was worthy of recollection, that where a string of questions was submitted by

government to a Board of Commissioners, the answer, whether favourable or not, was always given in the most *complaisant* manner possible; and, notwithstanding what the Commissioners said in this report, he thought it might be inferred, even from their own statements, that they themselves were alarmed to the heart with apprehensions of the increased danger of smuggling, under the proposed system. They recommended "the trade to be confined, the private trader's ships to be reduced in size, and guarded by revenue cruizers, for which purpose it would be necessary that that species of force be increased." *(A laugh.)* They pointed out the ports of "Liverpool, Bristol, Plymouth, Dover, and Hull," as those to which they conceived the trade should be restricted. He read this statement, that it should go out to the public, while there was a show on the part of government of fighting the battle of the Outports at large, these Commissioners of Excise and Customs, only recommended the trade to be extended to four or five of them, expressly advising, "that none of the ships shall go into ports where it is likely facilities will be afforded to smuggling."—Now, hear the description given by the Commissioners of the port of Liverpool. "The entrance to the harbour of LIVERPOOL, to the West, is open, and

nothing can be BETTER CALCULATED FOR SMUGGLING—(*Laughter*)—and the docks, as they are at present constituted, being surrounded with shops, warehouses, and public-houses, AFFORD ADDITIONAL FACILITIES TO ILLICIT TRAFFIC. (*Laughter.*) It is in contemplation, however, to build one dock, which should be surrounded by walls."

The Commissioners then go on to shew, that the other ports are EVEN WORSE THAN LIVERPOOL, (*a laugh*) and yet this was the report on which the hon. gentleman founded his argument, and on which the government formed their opinion. He was clear, in the language of the Earl of Buckinghamshire, that unless very extensive guards and regulations were provided, illicit traffic would increase in an alarming degree. He knew not what regulations were intended to be adopted, but it struck him that nothing could be done, except a fresh army of revenue officers and an additional fleet of Custom House cruizers, were added to the general burdens of the state—(*laughter*)—which was rendered unnecessary by the mode in which the revenue was at present collected.

Sir *Hugh Inglis* stated that when the Court was about to adjourn the other evening, the hon. mover of the resolution (Mr. Weyland) seemed to insinuate an opinion, that the hon. Proprietor

who proposed the amendment was entitled to a reply. He then took the liberty of stating, that, if he were allowed to speak a second time, it would be in consequence of their courtesy; for, by the rules of debate, established in other assemblies, no person was suffered to exercise that freedom, except the mover of the original question. He for one, however, would very willingly give any indulgence to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Hume), if he wished to speak in explanation.

If the Court granted that permission, he trusted the hon. gentleman would not go into such a great length of detail, as he had done on a former evening. The time of the Court was precious, it was assembled for particular purposes; and as Parliament would soon meet, it was necessary that they should speedily come to a decision; therefore, he hoped the hon. mover of the amendment would compress what he had to say into as short a compass as possible.

Mr. *Hume* acknowledged himself fully sensible of the indulgence the Court had extended to him, and highly grateful for the opportunity which they had given, of making such observations as occurred to him, in reply to what had fallen from those gentlemen, who had risen with the avowed intention of answering his arguments. When

however, personal charges and individual accusations were directed against him, and when attempts were made to refute all his statements, he thought it would not be liberal or candid to have refused him an opportunity, which, under such circumstances, every man had a right to demand. He was notwithstanding grateful for the permission; and he should think he acted with much impropriety if he occupied their time longer than he found it absolutely necessary. One thing he would observe, that if he, standing alone, had spoken at great length, it was but justice to say, his adversaries had so regulated their conduct, as to place *numbers* in opposition to *quantity*. If a single individual had refuted his arguments, he would not again have addressed them; particularly after the numerous and witty remarks which the prolixity of his former speech had called forth.

He should strictly confine himself, in the course of his explanation, to those points which he conceived essential; and he would begin with the last speaker first. The hon. gentleman (Mr. R. Jackson) in explanation, called the particular notice of the Court, to the opinion of the Commissioners of Customs and Excise, as if he conceived that he (Mr. Hume) had founded his principal reason for opening the outports, on an opinion, that no in-

crease of smuggling, and consequently no decrease of the revenue, would take place. It was evident from this that he had failed in explaining himself; for, though that was a strong ground of argument, he thought he had adduced others no less powerful. It had been asserted, and powerfully too, that he pertinaciously clung to his own opinion against the statements of the twenty-four Directors—presumptuous would it be for him to stand up in that Court, in opposition to the sage experience and wise discretion of those gentlemen. He had argued, that no defalcation would take place in the revenue, and no mischief would happen to the country, and to strengthen that, he had only quoted the opinion of a Commissioner.—He had disclaimed, and would again disclaim, the smallest intention of making any assertion founded only on his own opinion. His arguments were built, on facts, and stood firm and unshaken, in defiance of all the attempts which had been made to impugn his motives. If his statements had been found weak or inconclusive, he would have been the first man to acknowledge it. Such being the case, it could not be said that he had placed his opinion *alone* against that of the Directors. The Commissioner, in fact, of whom he had spoken, had made use of the very words of his Majesty's Ministers, that,

after the best examination, aided by all the information obtained from the Boards of Customs and Excise they are not enabled to concur in the opinion that the proposed extension of the import trade from India, would be productive of any very great increase of smuggling, and certainly not to the extent stated by the Directors." This was not a rash opinion, but the result of the united experience of those two boards; and he did not believe that gentlemen connected with them, could be biassed, by any means whatever, to give an opinion, in opposition to their real sentiments, with the view of meeting, what had been termed, the dangerous and hazardous measures of his Majesty's Ministers. If, therefore, these gentlemen were actuated by a desire to benefit the Country, as he was convinced they were, ought not the Court to pay great deference to their opinions, which were only echoed by his Majesty's Ministers? Having said thus much, he wished to dismiss all further remarks on the subject of smuggling, and to confine himself to the propriety of extending the trade to the Outports; for placing full reliance on these facts, he could see no risk to the revenue by such a measure, under such wise and effectual regulations, as the legislature might think proper to make. As he had advanced facts, and only

facts, he was very happy to find that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Grant) had attempted to grapple with them; but all that he had advanced had served only to support his (Mr. Hume's) arguments; and he hoped they would recollect the observation of an hon. gentleman (Mr. Jackson), that if his statements were not refuted, he would leave the Court with " vantage ground."—His statements had *not* been refuted, and, therefore, he had a right to congratulate himself on being in the situation to which the hon. gentleman alluded. The hon. Director (Mr. Grant) had said, that neither the imports from India to this country, nor the exports from this country to India, could be extended; this was at variance with every fact which he (Mr. Hume) had adduced.

Mr. C. Grant said, that to prevent any farther mistake, he would repeat what he had always stated, that " they could not be increased *in any material degree.*"

Mr. Pattison spoke to order. He said the hon. gentleman had not confined himself to explanation; he hoped the worthy Chairman would keep him to a strict line, and save the Court from that diffuse course of reasoning, which, on a former occasion, occupied three hours and a half. He did not know how the patience of other gen-

tlemen stood the test; but his was very severely tried.

Sir Hugh Inglis thought it was better to let the hon. gentleman go on in his own way; they would save time by it.

Mr. Hume continued;—he should feel very happy in being called to order, if, in any one point he had transgressed; but if he were not allowed to make the necessary statements, how could he refute the arguments which had been adduced against him?

The Rev. Mr. Thirlwall submitted to the Court, that the hon. Proprietor was very disorderly. It was stated by the hon. Chairman, that he was to confine himself solely to explanation; and he contended that the line of argument, which he was then pursuing, was by no means explanatory. On a former evening they had the hon. gentleman's speech of nearly four hours; and, according to the course he was at present taking, the reverend gentleman apprehended, that his address would be extended to eight. He wished the sense of the Court to be taken on the business.

Sir Hugh Inglis wished the hon. Proprietor to proceed; at the same time, he hoped he would compress as much as possible, what he had farther to offer.

Mr. Hume continued;—if to explain was re-

ular, he denied that he was irregular in any observation that had fallen from him. The hon. Director (Mr. Grant) had stated, that the exports from this country to India, could not be extended in any material degree. Of the statement which he made, to prevent mistakes, he handed a written copy to the Court of Directors, in which the increase of the whole of the Indian trade, for the last eighteen years, was specified. He had taken the general items, instead of the increase at the port; the difference was, that instead of an average of 89⅛ths, he should have given an average of 65, being only a three-fold increase. This still proved the truth of his argument, though not, he confessed, in so great a degree as he had stated. He should have felt happy, if the hon. gentleman (Mr. Grant) had corrected a mistake which he had made in another respect. He alluded to the exports from Bengal, to America, which he had stated at 85; when, in 1806, he should have stated them at 95; he had here got below the mark, and it would have been but candid, if the hon. gentleman had corrected him there, as he had done when he got above it. At all events, it was proved that an increase had taken place. He denied his ever having stated that the trade might be increased to an indefinite degree, although he did say that it was capable

of very great improvement. It was not known, however, to the nation at large, that the Company did almost every thing in their power to check the introduction of our manufactures into India. Very high duties were obliged to be paid, before European goods were allowed to be landed at Calcutta; some paid 12½ per cent; woollens 26½ per cent; carpets 9½ per cent, and so on in the same proportion.

On a former day he had adduced the opinion of Mr. Colebrook, in support of his reasoning; and it would be recollected, that a gentleman had got up, with great warmth, and stated, that the work which he quoted, was not the production *alone* of Mr. Colebrook, but a joint publication of Mr. Colebrook and Mr. Lambert. Thus, instead of being weakened, his argument was strengthened by that gentleman, who added another opinion in favor of it. He thanked the hon. gentleman for the assistance he had given him, particularly as it appeared that Mr. Lambert was perfectly conversant with the private trade. The hon. Director (Mr. Grant) had told them, that articles which were generally made use of in England, would not find a market in the East; he never contended that they would; of course the manufacturers must exert their ingenuity to suit the manners and customs of the

inhabitants. Without, however, dwelling longer on the exports, he would content himself simply with observing, that as the hon. gentleman had not proved a diminution, but had admitted a three-fold increase to have taken place; his proposition stood, not only unrefuted, but supported by an accession of argument. He was ready to admit, that partial failures would occur, when the trade was first opened; this was a result to be expected from the impetuosity which would naturally attend new speculations; but he had no doubt, when a little experience had been obtained, that the most sanguine hopes of the merchants would be accomplished.

The hon. gentleman here corrected a mistake which he had made in his former speech, respecting the increase of the American commerce with India, which he stated to be greater than what he had then calculated. He had been accused of not having considered the neutral character of America; but, in fact, he never lost sight of it; and he particularly wished, that such facilities should be given to the British merchant, as would enable him to take up that portion of commerce, which should be dropped, either by America, or by foreign Europe. It was said, that he had spoken incorrectly in attributing the increase of the import trade entirely to the private mer-

chants, and overlooking that part of it which had been carried on by the officers and commanders of the Company's vessels. The fact was, that his statement was far beneath what it really might have been; and that he had by no means gone to the extent to which he would have been justified in going. He had been satisfied, as he was not desirous of being thought to exaggerate the amount of the imports, to take the year 1800 as his *datum*, in which it appeared that the trade had amounted to £1,747,000; whereas, if he had gone to 1802, he would have there found, that the imports by commanders and private merchants, was £2,500,586. It appeared also, that the trade carried on by the commanders and officers, was by no means a fluctuating one; for, in 1793, it amounted to £421,339, and in 1809, it was £433,000. The average of this trade, therefore, being nearly alike, it could not have produced that increase in the amount of the imports, which had been attributed to it.

He gave the Directors credit for the extension which took place in 1801-2, to which much of the subsequent increase of imports was to be attributed; it was then in their power to have confined the merchant, to a stricter line than they had done,—the extension was, therefore, honorable to their liberality; still.

however, if, under all the difficulties and disadvantages, which even then remained, the trade had been so much increased, he had a right to expect, if a more enlarged extension was granted, that it would be followed by a still greater improvement. They had been told, that the consumption of articles of European manufacture, could not be increased in India, in any material degree; but, if the facts which he stated were correct, whether ought the Court to trust to the opinion of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Grant), or to experience? whether ought they to be guided by facts, amounting almost to demonstration, or by the conclusions of the hon. Director, however high and respectable the situation which he filled? The hon. Director stood on his opinions, while he depended upon facts, and on the results of the Company's sales. As a proof that our imports could not be increased, with any advantage to the private merchant, the hon. Director stated, that cotton could not be imported for less than tenpence per pound; but, he totally forgot to mention, how often that commodity had been disposed of, at fifteen, seventeen, and even twenty-pence per pound. In order to shew, too, that even what was imported, could not be sold, he observed, that 40,000 bales were now on hand. This, he apprehended, did not operate very for-

cibly in favor of the hon. Director's argument; for, in truth, this stock did not amount to one half of the annual imports, which were upon the average 90,000 bales; so that there was but a moderate quantity on hand, to answer those demands which the market was continually making. The same arguments might be applied to the indigo on hand. The value of indigo annually imported, at the rate of 6*s.* per pound, was £5,570,000, and the value of that on hand, was but £1,672,000; so that there was but one-third of a year's consumption to supply the public demand, until the arrival of the fleet; and of this quantity, it did not appear how much was really good or fit for the purposes for which it was intended, or how much of it was kept back at the express desire of the persons to whom it belonged, with a view to an increase of price.

He next came to the commercial profits of the Company. The hon. Director had told them, that, in a given time, the Indian trade averaged a profit of £100,000 per annum, but it would be an unfair method of reasoning, to state the profit of that trade, without charging on it those duties which would be paid by any private merchant on a private venture. The amount of the duty on the exports from India taking them at one and a half per cent. amounted to

£681,000, in the period alluded to by the hon. Director. On the imports into India, there were a variety of duties, which he would take upon an average of 7½ per cent.; some of them were below this sum, and many far above it—these duties, for the same period, produced £866,000. —It was evident that these sums should be deducted from the profits, and added to the territorial revenue—these duties, together with the simple interest of the investments, amounted to £1,917,000, which, after deducting the profits of the trade, according to the hon. Director (Mr. Grant,) left a clear loss of between 5 and £600,000, on these items alone.—If therefore this statement was correct, which, from their own arguments, it appeared that he had a right to contend, then the trade of India had been ruinous to the concerns of the Company, and was destroying those profits which the China trade afforded. With respect to the opinion of the Marquis Wellesley; that, had been given in a different manner at different periods; and as opinions vary according to circumstances, they could only have weight in reference to the events which occasioned their promulgation.

As to the political part of the question, he would observe, that if the Government were to be taken away from the Company, if the trade were

to be carried on without limitation; if individuals were to be allowed to proceed to India, without control, or regulation, dangers of very great magnitude would certainly ensue; but they had no right to presume that any such measures were in contemplation—no suggestion of that kind had been offered; on the contrary, it was plain that no material alteration was sought to be effected, provided the Company *simply ceded* the import and export trade. (*A laugh.*)

However much the Court of Directors might consider this a boon to the public, he was of opinion that the very moment their charter expired, which it was now on the eve of doing, they had no other right to the India trade, than that sort of general participation to which all other British merchants were entitled; and he hoped that the Court of Proprietors would not persist in carrying on a trade by which a loss of five or six millions had been sustained. The hon. Director had asked, why he introduced past controversies? But he surely must have heard the assertions which were made by gentlemen, and which it was necessary he should answer. An hon. Proprietor (Mr. K. Smith), in reply to what he had observed on the delay of ships, said, that these delays were occasioned, not by the Company, but by public emergencies; but in

his opinion, the ships intended for the commerce of private individuals, ought to be kept separate and distinct, and should not be diverted, under any circumstances, from the business for which they were professedly intended. The ships, which the hon. gentleman alluded to, as being placed under the direction of Sir Home Popham, did not arrive at their destination until long after they were expected, which created very considerable inconvenience to the merchants. This was one of the strongest points against that system which he wished to correct. He thanked the hon. Proprietor for the instance he had stated, which was a very important one, and he could now shew, from the words of the Directors themselves, the great expense which was incurred by the delay of the Company's ships.—Mr. Millet, on the 1st of July, 1809, wrote to Mr. Grant, stating that demurrage alone, on seven extra ships, amounted to £91,000. This proved a deviation, by which both the Company and the merchants suffered a loss,—he was most anxious to remove such causes of expenditure, and therefore was of opinion, that nothing ought to interfere or intervene to stop the regular dispatch of ships to and from India.

Mr. *K. Smith* observed, that he did not deny detentions to have taken place, but he expressly

stated, that they were occasioned by political events—and were delayed only for political purposes, and not for the advantage of the Company, who derived no benefit from them; they had been stopped for the exigencies of state.

Mr. *Hume* said, that the hon. gentleman's explanation was exactly what he wanted for his argument—It was against the system which permitted these deviations that he objected.

The hon gentleman was then proceeding to argue, in opposition to the system which had heretofore existed, and on the difference of opinions which prevailed upon it, when he was interrupted by Sir *Hugh Inglis* who said, that the hon. Proprietor was arguing as to what the system then was, and not what it was to be in future. The proposition to the Court was, that the private merchants might be allowed to export in their own ships, without any reference to what had heretofore been the custom.—The hon gentleman ought not to throw away so much argument in endeavouring to point out the errors of past times.—In a great part of what he had said, he had not confined himself to *explanation*, but had indulged himself in *accusation* against the Company. *(Hear! hear! and cries of Question! Question!)* He entreated they would hear the hon. gentleman.

Mr. *Hume* said, the Court would recollect, that when he last addressed them, he had not offered all the arguments which he should have done, had he been permitted, and had not so many things pressed upon him at the moment.

Sir *Hugh Inglis* observed, that if the hon. gentleman did not state every thing he had to say, on a former day, it was not the fault of the Proprietors or Directors; he had been heard with very great patience.

Mr. *Hume*, in continuation, said, that, on the score of opinion he wished to call the attention of the Court to a fact of great importance, mentioned by an hon. gentleman, (Mr. Davis) which went to prove that the deviation of one of the Company's ships, for a political purpose, had nearly been the ruin of the Captain. This fact established the necessity of separating the political and commercial part of the Company's system. The same hon. gentleman also stated, that, in no one year had there been any difficulty in obtaining even 5000 tons of the Company's shipping for private trade. He was in the shipping line; and, as his opinion would probably have a great effect with the public, he would put it to his candour, whether, in truth and in fact, the private merchants had not complain-

ed of having found considerable difficulty in getting a large allowance of freight? He did not mean to blame the Court of Directors, but the system only; and he held in his hand the admission of a former Chairman, directly contrary to the statement made, that freight could be so easily procured. As the hon. gentleman was nearly connected with the shipping trade, being managing owner of two or three vessels, from this circumstance the public would be enabled to judge whether his opinion was or was not interested. When it was alleged, before the House of Commons, that the merchants could not get sufficient freight, the Chairman of the Court of Directors answered, "that they were ready to admit the complaint, but that it was not owing to them that freight was not to be had in sufficient quantity." He (Mr. Hume) knew it was not—and it was therefore clear that new rules and regulations were called for, without which the private trade could not be carried on to advantage.

Mr. *Davis* rose to a point of order. The fact which he had formerly stated was doubted by the hon. gentleman, who had even gone farther than the expression of doubt. Mr. Davis was proceeding to offer some explanation in support of his former assertion, that he could procure 5,000

tons more than he could ship at any time,—when

Mr. *R. Jackson* rose to order. He said, the question really was, whether the usual course of their proceedings should be pursued, or whether they should be every moment broken through, for the purpose of bearing down an individual? The regular course was, if a gentleman misrepresented any thing in his speech, for the person who conceived himself aggrieved, to correct the error when the speech was over; but it was quite disorderly to use these frequent interruptions; and there was not one man in one hundred who could possibly continue collected under such circumstances.

Mr. *Hume* proceeded, by saying that he challenged any merchant or agent, of twenty years experience, to stand up and say that he never knew an instance in which tonnage could not be procured when it was wanted. He did not meet them at one point only; facts now pressed round him on every side. He was satisfied that facilities had not been afforded to the private merchants, and the more he thought on the subject the more firmly he was convinced of the necessity of a change in the present system. An hon. gentleman who spoke third in the debate (Mr. R. Grant) began his speech by stating, in one

sweeping clause, that all the facts which he (Mr. Hume) adduced, were entirely irrelevant or utterly inconclusive. Those statements, which he was not able to overthrow, he very prudently set aside; observing that he would not notice them, there being many other persons in the Court better calculated to perform that task. Now it was in the recollection of the Court with what applause that speech was received; although he had hoped that instead of theoretical argument the Court would have looked to practical proofs; therefore he would dismiss the speech of the hon. gentleman, which, however eloquent, did not contain one item that related to any thing he had said. He had condemned a publication, *the Edinburgh Review* which, with a slight alteration of the text, he would say was "as able as it was useful," for having reasoned erroneously, in adducing facts which occurred in 1783, (and which were mentioned by Sir Philip Francis in his letter) as a ground for legislative enactment now; but he himself, falling into the same error for which he blamed others, observed, that the private merchants in India were at present very respectable men, and he then went back to the time of Lord Clive, and alluded to the mischiefs which a similar class of persons had then occa-

sioned, as a foundation for putting the Company on their guard against the recurrence of similar mischiefs in 1814.

However gratified he, as well as the Court, might be by the hon. gentleman's flowery metaphors and fine flowing language, yet as his whole speech proceeded on the ill-grounded assumption, that adventurers would be allowed to wander through the East unrestrained, for which supposition there was no foundation whatever, the whole of his reasoning, which was built on that mistake, must fall to the ground; the falsity of his *data*, and the consequent error of his argument, being most apparent. "If," said the hon. gentleman, "individuals were permitted to range from coast to coast, from island to island, without regulation or control, what must be the effect?" He would agree with the hon. gentleman, that if such a thing were allowed, the results would be terrible; but the correspondence of His Majesty's Ministers bore him out in the assertion, that regulations would be adopted, calculated to repress any such occurrences. Another ingenious argument of the hon. gentleman was founded on an assertion, that he (Mr. Hume) had stated, that, under the new regulation, the increase of trade would be *indefinite*. Although this expression had travelled round the Court,

he begged to observe, that he had not made use of it. What he said was, that as the trade had increased beyond what was expected; they had no right to fix positively the boundary at which that increase would stop; but the hon. gentleman (Mr. R. Grant) having assumed this expression, went on to state, that, as the increase of trade would be indefinite, the intercourse of individuals with the East-Indies would be indefinite also. All that he had wished to state was, that even if the trade were pushed to its utmost extent, it must be carried on under such regulations as were calculated to prevent danger to the country. Another hon. gentleman (Mr. Plomer) asserted, that his speech was suited to a meeting of Liverpool or Bristol merchants, but was not adapted to the Court in which it was delivered. Now if, in an assembly of gentlemen, connected with India affairs, and engaged in argument on them, statements and details relative to the commercial and political situation of that country were irrelevant to the subject under discussion, he knew not what could be termed relevant. Yet such was the effect of prejudice, that that part of the hon. gentleman's speech was applauded; though another hon. gentleman (Mr. R. Jackson) had observed, that if those facts,

which the hon. proprietor (Mr. Plomer) deemed irrelevant, were not answered, he should leave the Court with "vantage ground." The hon. Proprietor, however, who confessed that he derived his knowledge on the subject from books and conversation, boldly designated all these facts as by no means applicable to the subject. After exposing the fallacy of the assertion, when contrasted with the opinion of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Jackson), he thought he might dismiss that part of the subject without any farther notice. Another hon. gentleman (Mr. Impey) required more attention. He had called him (Mr. Hume) the organ of Lord Buckinghamshire and the Ministers, because he had espoused the claims of the Outports. Did that hon. gentleman also consider Mr. Waithman to be the organ of Ministers, because he had, on the preceding day, and in another place, supported the same principles? Yet it could not be denied, that so far from being friendly to the administration, Mr. Waithman had done every thing in his power to cry them down. The conduct of Mr. Waithman had been highly creditable to him *(hisses)*; he meant so far as related to the subject of the renewal of the Company's charter; and he thought the speech which had been delivered by him in the Common

Council, on the East-India question, was worthy, from its moderation, of the particular attention of that Court.

The hon. gent. (Mr. Impey) had told them, that they ought to look to opinions only, and that facts were of no importance.—Now he submitted to the candour of the Court, whether they were not met there to decide by the experience of the last twenty years? and he hoped they would not sanction conclusions founded merely on opinion. The same hon. gent. had observed, that not one-thirtieth part of what had fallen from him was applicable to the question; and yet he concluded by hoping, that the whole of his speech would be published, and laid before the country, as the surest means of serving the cause of the East-India Company. Now, if his statements were not applicable, he was at a loss to know how they could either serve or injure the cause. Surely, if they were so irrelevant, they could not operate either one way or the other. The hon. gent. proceeded on an assumption, that Government intended to destroy the political rights and privileges of the Company.—"Will it be permitted," said he, "that they should rob us of those rights to which we are entitled? will not such an attempt produce unpopularity? Does a Minister exist, so weak and wicked as to endeavour to

subvert our establishments ?" He (Mr. Hume) would say that it would require a strong and powerful Minister indeed to disfranchise the Company of its rights.—No weak Minister would attempt, or could effect such a purpose.—But the hon. gent. was completely wrong in his assumption; for there was not the smallest evidence of any such intention existing on the part of Government. He had also accused them of a design "to tear the India Company limb from limb, that its members might be given to the Outports as a remuneration for the loss of the Slave-trade." This he thought was a most ungracious subject to mention, and was indeed acting on the principle of "ripping up old sores," with which *he* had been unjustly charged. He contended, that he was a true friend to the Company; he wished them to flourish, as a tree, under whose refreshing shade the population of India might find protection; but seeing a sucker, which had the effect of impairing the growth of the tree, he could not conceive it improper to use the pruning knife, with a skilful hand; and, by removing that branch, to load the tree with fruit and foliage. He had spoken nothing but the truth, and no compliment was due to him for having performed his duty; but, when he was conscious of the rectitude of his actions, he must reprobate the con-

duct of the hon. gent., in having designated him as an enemy to the Company; and he threw the assertion back in the teeth of him that made it.—*(Cries of order)*.

Mr. *Impey* denied that he had made any such accusation.

Mr. *Hume* continued by saying, that the measure which he supported would not only increase the commerce of India, but add to the power and influence of the Company.—He was, therefore, no enemy to them, as had been most unfairly insinuated. He had stated, in that Court, his reasons for having come forward. He had stated them most distinctly; and he would prove to demonstration the propriety of the views which he had promulgated.

Sir *Hugh Inglis* said, the hon. gent. had been indulged to a very great extent; he wished that indulgence to be still continued to him; but he hoped he would confine himself simply to explanation.

Mr. *Hume* said, that if to speak in his own defence, and to throw back those opinions which had been improperly imputed to him, was considered irregular, he had too much confidence in the rest of his arguments to persevere in that course. The hon. gent. had observed, that the East-India Company ought to bear both the

sword and purse; and that the former was necessary to their success in commerce. If he (Mr. Hume) had made such an assertion, he might truly indeed have been termed "the enemy of the Company." Undoubtedly, defence and protection should be granted to those engaged in commercial transactions, but the coupling the sword with the purse, by the hon. gent., was one of the severest reflections on the present political Government of India. The hon. gent dwelt with great force on the ill success which attended Mr. Fox, in meddling with the East-India Company, in 1783-4.—"Did he not fail in his attempt?" exclaimed the hon. gent.—He (Mr. Hume) knew that he was foiled, and very properly; and if any other man stood up to effect a similar object, he trusted that he also would experience a similar disappointment. But the hon. gentleman's reasoning was not correct, for Lord Buckinghamshire's letter expressly said, "that no material change in the political situation of the Company, was intended,"—whereas it was known that Mr. Fox used all his exertions to procure the whole of the East-India patronage. Such an attempt as that must pull down any Minister; but let not the Court be carried away by an idea, that the two instances were at all similar. It was not intended to take any thing from the Company which

was beneficial. The petitioners only requested a portion of the trade, which he thought he had demonstrated to be a losing one. He should be glad if he could follow the hon. gent. in his high eulogium on the Court of Directors, on the present occasion; but, as he differed so much from them, on the propriety of breaking off the negotiation, he could not proceed so far as the hon. gent. had done. Another gent. (Mr. Twiss) had commenced his speech by adverting to the outcry which had been made about the Company's monopoly; and then proceeded to argue against the present, as not being a proper time to make any alteration; but he ought to have known, that if ever a change was to take place, the present was the most favourable period for it; when India was in a state of perfect tranquillity, unmolested by an enemy, either within or without.

On the subject of smuggling, the hon. gent. said, using the language of an hon. Proprietor (Mr. R. Grant) that it could not be prevented; for even the acts of Buonaparte were insufficient to check the exertions of commercial enterprize. This argument was decidedly in favour of that for which he contended; for the commerce which America carried on with India, was of such a description, as the world could not do without; and which, if the Americans had

not been allowed to engross the trade, must have fallen into the hands of the British merchants. The hon. gent. observed, that if *one-half* per cent. was sufficient to induce men to smuggle bullion out of the country, there could be no doubt that a profit of 96 per cent., which would be derived from the smuggling of Teas, would occasion an incalculable increase of illicit traffic. But he should recollect the specific difference between the two articles. The exchange with France had long been from 34 to 40 per cent. against this country; in consequence of which, a man might, by conveying 1000 guineas from Dover to Calais gain a considerable sum, whilst by conveying a pound of tea, which would occupy the same space, he might gain the enormous profit of five shillings, the amount of the duty on that article.

The hon. gent. then proceeded to make some remarks on the speech of Mr. Randle Jackson, to which he had listened with great anxiety and attention.—Now, that hon. gent. did not object to any statement, except one, which he had made; and in fact had supported the whole of his arguments. He (Mr. Jackson) differed from the hon. Director (Mr. Grant); and admitted that the India trade was capable of increase. The hon. gent. had also allowed his facts to be relevant, and observed, that his had been a dry task, in answering

him; but he was at a loss to know on what point he and the hon. and learned gent. had differed. The hon. gent. indeed called on them to consider that they were a great Company, and to beware of what they were about to hazard; but, like the hon. gent. who preceded him, as he reasoned from false premises, his arguments went for nothing. He also called to their recollection the fate of a former Minister, who had fallen in an attempt to subvert the Company. "And," said the hon. gent. "where the lion failed, shall we permit the more ignoble race to bear away the spoil?" Undoubtedly not; but those apprehensions that seemed to fill the minds of hon. gentlemen were utterly groundless. Ministers had given them no reason to suppose, that their political influence would be at all impaired. The hon. gent. seemed to insinuate the charge of inconsistency against Lord Melville, as belonging to a Cabinet, whose opinions appeared to be at variance with those which he had formerly professed.—They should not forget, that his Lordship had merely stated opinions, which circumstances might alter; and, if the representations which the Earl of Buckinghamshire had alluded to, occasioned a change in his sentiments, it was highly to his honor that he acknowledged his conviction of the error of his previous opinion. But

the hon. gent. seemed to think the noble Lord ought to withdraw his support from the administration, like Lord Wellesley or Mr. Canning, who retired from a cabinet, the principles of which they did not approve. He saw the circumstance in a very different light; and, he thought, it was much to the credit of Lord Melville, who came manfully forward and avowed his change of opinion. The Earl of Buckinghamshire's letter, of the 24th of December, stated, "that Government were induced to revise the arrangement which had been in contemplation in consequence of the importance of the representations made to them;" and he (Mr. Hume) hoped the East-India Company would have the candour, like Lord Melville, to hear every argument on the subject, to weigh them maturely; and, if they saw reason for an alteration in their opinion, to stand forward and avow it.—In conclusion, Mr. Hume apologized for having detained the Court so long, and proposed, if it should meet the wish of the Court, that the hon. gent. (Mr. Weyland) should withdraw the original resolution, and he would also withdraw his amendment, till he could ascertain what those alterations were, which the hon. gent. had, on a former day, declared it to be his intention to make, in the propositions which were to be submitted to them.

Sir *Hugh Inglis* stated, that the Court was in possession of the original Resolution, moved by his hon. friend (Mr. Weyland); that it was likewise in possession of the amendment proposed by the hon. Proprietor, who has just sat down; and he submitted to his hon. friend, that he ought not to withdraw his Resolution, and that the sense of the Court ought to be taken both on that and on the amendment. At that late hour of the evening, exhausted, as they must be, by the length of discussion which had taken place, if he were to follow the hon. Proprietor (Mr. Hume) through his speech, (for in fact it was a *speech*, and not an *explanation*,) he should be guilty of the same error into which that gentleman had fallen, and should, perhaps, completely tire out their patience.—He hoped, however, he should be indulged in offering a few observations on the question now before the Court—he should indeed state but few, for if he had the ability, the subject had been so well debated, and every argument advanced against the privilege of the Company, been so ably answered, that little was left for him to say.

Before the question was put, however, he must call their attention to the opinions of Statesmen, which he had seen, in the course of this debate, in the hands of many gentlemen. *(Vide App.)*

Those great statesmen, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dun-

das, had left their recorded opinions, not alone in their speeches and writings, but in the measures they adopted for the renewal of the Charter, in 1793. That not less eminent man, Mr. Fox, whose loss the nation had to deplore, with his great rival statesman, Mr. Pitt, in his famous Bill of 1783, never proposed touching the exclusive trade of the Company; far less did he contemplate the opening of the Outports to the speculations of individuals. Another great statesman (Marquis Wellesley), who, happily for the nation, was still living, though favourable to an opening of the trade, to a certain and limited extent, from his local knowledge of India, and the danger attending too great an intercourse between European adventurers, and the natives of India, never entertained so wild an idea as to allow ships of individuals, from England, to range over the vast Indian ocean, or to return to the Outports of this kingdom; his enlarged mind was satisfied with making London the *emporium* of Indian commerce. *(Hear! hear!)* What had they to set against these great authorities, and the arguments they have listened to in that room with so much pleasure? They had to set against them the reasoning of the hon. mover of the amendment, and perhaps the opinion of the hon. seconder, for he had not favoured the Court with

any arguments; high as he rated the abilities of the hon. mover of the amendment, he must say, he had not made any impression on his mind. They had also indeed the opinions of His Majesty's Ministers, but they were founded on arguments which they had no opportunity of hearing. In 1793, the letters of the parties interested in opening the trade, were transmitted to the Court of Directors; and where conferences took place with His Majesty's Ministers, minutes of the proceedings were handed over to them, and ultimately submitted to the Court of Proprietors. On the present occasion they had not been so fortunate—they were ignorant of what had passed at the conferences between Ministers and the Deputations from the Outports—and they had been referred for information to the petitions with which the table of the House of Commons was loaded. *(Hear! hear!)*

The hon. mover of the amendment stated, (he presumed as a reason for the opposition of the Court of Directors,) that their patronage would be lessened. If such unworthy motives could operate on the minds of gentlemen behind that bar, he would tell the hon. gentleman that in this case, the argument would not avail him, as the great mass of patronage would remain the same to the Court of Directors, *(hear! hear!)*

whether the trade were extended to the Outports, or confined to the City of London. But there was a description of patronage which would be materially affected by the removal of the trade to the Outports; which, though of no importance to the Directors, in an interested point of view, they would be extremely sorry to lose. What would become of that meritorious class of men, the Commanders and Officers of their noble fleet of ships, and their retired military officers, worn out in the service, many of them covered with wounds, and all with honour?—Was it to be supposed, that Government would continue to them, the very liberal allowance, which they received from the Company? Was it to be imagined that Government would place them on a better footing than the servants of the public, at home? Their naval officers, too, who had been unfortunate in their service, and who, from age or infirmities, were unable to continue in it, derived a subsistence from the benevolent institution of Poplar, which was second only to the great national establishment at Greenwich—It received not only them, but their widows; and even the widows of petty officers and seamen.—This hospital was supported by contributions from their ships, and the moment their commerce was destroyed, that splendid endowment must fall with it.—(*Hear! hear!*)

And what would be the fate of the Officers of the House and Warehouses, who commenced their services in early life, and many of whom were now grown grey in it? Had the hon. mover considered what was to be done for these persons? he says, indeed, that the Government will make compensation to them,—but had he reflected on the extent to which that compensation would be called for? did he know that it would demand millions? if they took from them their trade, they might also take their territory.—Would Government make a compensation to them for their stock, which was estimated by that great statesman, the late Lord Melville, at £200,000,000? Would they prepare to demand of the country a sum of this magnitude? Would they make compensation to the owners of docks, or to the owners of yards, who had built, and were now building their ships; and who, if their trade was destroyed, must suffer deeply? Looking at these, and the other great interests at stake, the Court would have been happy could they have met the views of His Majesty's Ministers, without yielding that on which the power rested, of conducting their affairs with safety to the Company, and advantage to the public. The claimants themselves would not be benefited by what they demanded; on the contrary, he was convinced they

would be the first and greatest sufferers. Disappointed in their expectations, new clamours, and perhaps better founded than the present, would arise. They would state to Ministers, that the trade to India had been an unproductive boon, and they would demand the China trade as a recompense; which even the hon. mover would not consent to part with, as he understands him to say, that this branch of commerce should remain with them. In the mean time, in default of other articles, the private traders might fill their ships with sugar and coffee, to the great injury of the West India Colonies.

He should make one more short observation before he concluded; had there been no Company, there would have been no territorial possessions; they were acquired by the funds of the Company; they had been supported and secured by the commerce of the Company. The hon. mover had said a good deal about the increased commerce of the American and private trade to the East-Indies. Did he know, that in those years when the American and private trade flourished most, the funds destined for their commerce were diverted to the defence and preservation of their empire in the East? And to this circumstance the extension of the American trade was in a great measure owing.

This was not to be considered as a commercial, but as a great political question; and the late Lord Melville, whose authority he had so often referred to, expressly stated. that the political and commercial interests of the Company were so blended with those of the State, as to render it impossible to divide them, without danger to the Empire. The hon. Gentleman had complained, that the extra ships of the Company were diverted from commercial to political purposes. This very circumstance was a strong argument for the continuance of the present system; for it shewed that the State and the Company were formed to uphold each other; and though sometimes it might press hard on commerce, yet the inconvenience was greatly overbalanced by the benefit derived by the Country at large. He should conclude by hoping His Majesty's Ministers would look upon this as a question on which the safety of India depended. Let them, therefore, beware, lest by opening the trade in the manner proposed, they did not shake the foundation of this establishment, and bring to the ground never to rise again, the fabric of their national greatness. (*Reiterated applause*)

The amendment was then put from the chair, and negatived; Mr. Hume, alone, holding up his hand in favour of it. The original Resolution

was then put, and, with the exception of the same gentleman, carried unanimously.

Mr. Weyland, in rising to propose the second Resolution, which comprised, in a smaller space, the various topics contained in the *series* of Resolutions which were submitted to the Court on the 19th of January, observed, that, after the unanimity which appeared in agreeing to the Resolution that had just been carried, there was no necessity for him to say much in proposing the next—in all probability, any remarks which might be offered in opposition to it, would go merely to the propriety of extending the Trade to the Outports. Now, if the whole question were confined to that point, and did not include the apprehension of ulterior danger, the business could admit of little argument. But, if the trade to India were thrown open, what would become of the China trade?—what would become of the Indian Empire?—Although the hon. gentleman had disclaimed any desire to interfere with that trade, His Majesty's Ministers, of whom he was the advocate, could have no other intentions; for it was perfectly clear, if the extension now proposed did not answer the views of the merchants at the Outports, the Company would be called upon to give up every thing they possessed. He would not detain the Court longer; the prin-

ciple had been so fully discussed on the first Resolution, as, in all probability, to prevent the necessity of any further debate. He then proposed the second Resolution; *(vide Appendix)*—which having been read—

Mr. Randle Jackson expressed an objection to that passage in which the Company were represented as having exported goods to India, at a loss, for the purposes of benefiting the manufactures of the mother country. This, he observed, went to prove that the Company had lost by the India trade, which was contrary to the whole course of argument advanced by the gentleman who opposed the Amendment. The fact was, that though the East-India trade was not a very profitable concern, it was not a losing one; but, more than all, it was the great pillar of the Company's establishment. They ought not, therefore, to countenance an expression which their enemies would gladly seize hold of, and from which they might draw the most erroneous conclusions.

Sir Hugh Inglis thought the Resolution was sufficiently guarded. The case was simply this; they carried on a trade in Woollens for the advantage of our manufacturers; they lost by the Woollens, but they gained by the general returns: so that, on the whole, they were not losers.—The same observation applied to Tin.

Mr. Randle Jackson said, if the passage applied only to woollens, he was not prepared with information to argue it one way or the other; but, he was sure, if it were taken generally, it was a dangerous proposition, from which very incorrect conclusions might be drawn.

Mr. Hume submitted, whether that Court, to use the words of the hon. gentleman, might not lay itself open to some "incorrect conclusion," if they proceeded, without further consideration, to agree to so voluminous a Resolution.—He would, therefore, suggest, that the Resolutions be printed, that they might have an opportunity of deciding, after they were perfectly acquainted with the nature of that, on which they were called to give their opinion.

Mr. Weyland observed, that every argument had been adduced, in the course of the discussion, which bore, in the remotest degree, on the question; and the principle of the Resolution was perfectly well understood.—He could see no necessity for a new discussion on that which had already been so fully debated.

Mr. Impey after the exemplary patience which had been manifested in the discussion on the Amendment, observed, it would be quite unpardonable in him to trouble the Court at any great length.—Having disposed of the first Reso-

lution, they were called upon to proceed with the second, which did not precisely meet his ideas, as still partaking of the defect of its original concoction, that of going too much into detail. Nevertheless, as it seemed to contain the case of the Company, and as it might appear, that a difference of opinion existed amongst them, if they went into argument upon it, he hoped it would be carried with the same unanimity as that which had preceded it.

At the conclusion of the last debate, an observation fell from an hon. Proprietor, one of the City Members (Alderman Atkins), which, if not answered, might create some misapprehension. The hon. Proprietor asked, "whether the Court of Directors could not again hold a communication with His Majesty's Ministers, and state to them, that the Company was willing to open the trade on a liberal footing?" Now, from this, the public might imagine that there was an objection to open the private trade on a liberal footing; but the fact was directly the reverse; the Company had gone much farther than had ever before been demanded of them; they had conceded the extension to the private trader, without any restriction as to ships or cargoes. The public should perfectly understand what was the question in dispute; he would repeat, what he had said over

and over again, that the private trade had nothing to do with it. Had the hon. gentleman who opened the debate, proved beyond the possibility of doubt, the propriety of extending the trade, still he was doing nothing more than "beating the wind," for he looked upon that point to have been given up,—but it was the duty of the hon. gentleman to have shewn, that the admission of the Outports to a participation in the import trade, would not occasion such an increase of smuggging, as would ultimately destroy the China trade. He ought to have shewn, that if the Company refused to grant the demand, the India government could be removed out of their hands, without any danger, either to the establishments abroad, or to the constitution at home. He believed that the present was not very wide of the proposition submitted to Parliament in 1783, and he did not think that they could do better than recur to the example which was set them at that period; when all those persons, any way connected with the Company in London, saw that the proposition was hostile to their interests, they appealed to Parliament, and myriads of individuals signed the petitions; but they ought not to confine themselves to those only who were in London, they ought to call for assistance on the miners of Cornwall, and the clothiers of the

North of England, both of whom were greatly benefited by the Company, and by whose destruction they would be materially affected; though these manufacturers might procure orders for the East, after the Company had ceased to exist, they would never receive them so regularly as they had been accustomed to do. He considered these persons as their natural allies, who ought to come forward in their defence. In recurring to the year to which he had before alluded, they ought to remember, that their cause was not gained by the representation of their friends nor the eloquence of their advocates. Whatever effect they might have had on the public mind, still it was not by them they were ultimately saved. When reason and argument were no longer listened to; when the Company were overborne by clamour, a light shone out on their affairs from an HIGHER POWER. The Company could not forget, that it was the HIGHEST PERSONAGE in the Country, the object at present of their deepest regret, as he had always been of their utmost veneration, who supported them. He saw that the blow was aimed at HIS authority, and from this constitutional view of the subject, for he (Mr. *Impey*) always considered it in a constitutional view, the East-India Company derived its salvation. Might it not likewise appear to the GREAT PERSONAGE

now acting in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, that precisely the same measure was liable to the same degree of constitutional jealousy? Might he not apprehend that the power, of which he was the guardian and the depository, would be impaired by the projected alteration of the Company's system? For his part he could not conceive that those powers which were considered dangerous in the hands of Mr. Fox, could become harmless in those of Lord Liverpool or of any other Minister.—*(Hear! hear!)* His Royal Highness had always shewn the utmost anxiety for the rights of his subjects, and therefore they might reasonably hope that he would never suffer any Minister of the Crown to be paramount to the Sovereign.

The second resolution was then put, being as follows:—

Resolved,—That on former discussions relative to the renewal of the Company's charter, and particularly in 1793, His Majesty's Government were prepared, at the outset, to state the precise extent of concession which could safely be allowed to the petitioners against the Company's charter; and their mature conviction appeared then to be, that the regulated monopoly of the Company was essential to the interests of the country, and that this consideration alone was a sufficient answer to all pretences for interference with that monopoly.

That the territorial possessions of the Company in In-

dia are their certain right, and that the system provided for the Indian Government by the wisdom of Parliament, together with the disinterested spirit in which it has been administered by the Company, have extended and consolidated the British Empire in the East, and added to the strength and glory of the British Empire at Home.

That the trade of the Company has long ceased to bear the character of a strict monopoly; and that, by some further modifications, if thought indispensable, in addition to the arrangements of 1793 and of 1802, it may be rendered as much an open trade, as will be consistent with the security of revenue and the prosperity and safety of the Indian Empire.

That it is the opinion of the ablest Indian statesmen, as well as of the generality of persons acquainted with India, that no large or sudden addition can be made to the amount of British exports to that country or China; that this opinion is confirmed by the practice of the Americans, who export chiefly bullion, and by the overloaded state of the Indian markets; that the habits and religion of the natives are hostile to any such extension: and that the Company actually suffer a loss in this department of their concerns, with the view of employing the capital, and encouraging the industry of their countrymen at home.

That so far as relates to the ordinary produce of India, the import trade is now carried to the full extent of the demand, as appears by the value of three millions and a half sterling of private property at this moment remaining in the Company's Warehouses; and that to

open the Outports to that trade, would be no other than a ruinous transfer of it into new channels, to the destruction of immense and costly establishments, and the beggary of many thousands of industrious individuals.

That an extension of the trade in other products, the *supposed* effect of opening the Outports, could be realised only by a large transfer of capital to India, and its consequent colonization; that, if realized, it might fatally interfere with the manufactures of England, or with her commerce to countries where similar products are already raised by British capital, imported in British shipping, and paid for by British manufacturers, and that thus, such extension would deeply injure those very persons who are most impatiently petitioning for it.

That any unrestrained intercourse of Europeans with our Indian Empire is highly to be deprecated; that the unlimited competition of commercial agents would, from the peculiar circumstances of the country, produce "a boundless scene of confusion and fraud, and "ultimately the ruin of the manufacturers themselves;" and that tempting opportunities would be held out to the agents to maintain illicit intercourse with the Native Powers, and to conduct a dangerous system of communication with China from the Eastern Islands.

That this Court do most highly approve the conduct of the Directors upon the vital question of admitting the Outports to the import trade from India; and that the confusion and hazard from irregular sales at the Outports, the loss of the revenue from smuggling, and the consequent ruin of the Company's China trade, are

decisive obstacles to the policy of such a measure;—they are therefore firmly of opinion, that the Court of Directors should, on no consideration whatever, cede this point in the discussion.

That it also appears, from numerous petitions presented to the last Parliament, that on the faith of approved and long established practice, an immense capital has been invested in establishments, peculiarly adapted to the export trade between India and China; and that many heavy engagements have been entered into by persons in the city of London, and on both banks of the Thames, from London-bridge to Gravesend, the very subsistence of many of whom depends upon the continuance to the port of London of the export trade to India and China; and that nearly 10,000 industrious artificers, together with their families, would be in danger of beggary, in proportion as they would be thrown out of employment, by the removal of the export trade from its accustomed channel. This Court therefore conceives, that it is of vital importance to the city and port of London, that the export trade to India and China should continue to be carried on as heretofore.

That since the high duties on articles imported would still remain, the abatement in the price of freight, expected by the petitioners to ensue from the subversion of the present system, would be productive of trifling relief to the consumer; and that this relief would be purchased at the extreme hazard of the revenue of Customs and Excise, now collected easily by the Company, as well as imminent danger to all the sources of their wealth in India.

That there is no foundation, in fact, for the statement which ascribes to the Company's charter the advantages enjoyed by neutral foreigners over British merchants, in the admission of the former to a trade from which the latter are excluded; for that the profit with which that trade has been carried on by those foreigners, has been entirely owing to the facilities necessarily belonging to their neutral character, and which, of course, cannot belong to the merchants of a belligerent state,

That the discharge of the political functions of the Company depends on the continuance of its commercial privileges; that the propositions of His Majesty's Government, by giving a fatal blow to the commercial interests of the Company, will, if insisted on, eventually terminate in its political dissolution; and that political advantages, of the highest importance, will thus be lost to the country, among which the following deserve to be distinctly noticed, as much too valuable to be sacrificed for a trifling reduction in the freight of Indian goods to Europe.

1. A marine of 100 large ships, containing a tonnage of 103,333 tons, employing 1400 officers and 10,000 seamen, of acknowledged skill and bravery, and which has been found ready and able, at all times, to minister to the national convenience and to augment the national glory.

2. An extensive establishment of yards, which has often rendered large and seasonable assistance to the Royal Navy, and might, in cases of necessity, be made available to the national defence.

3. The remittance of the fortunes accumulated by

above 3,000 officers of the Company's military service, and some hundreds of civil servants, which are transferred to the capital, and stimulate the industry of Britain.

That, in addition to these considerations, the liberal disbursements of the Company for national enterprizes, and the meritorious contribution of their service to the National Fund of strength and glory, are entitled to a just and honourable remembrance, in the preparation of any measure which may vitally affect their interests.

That connected with this department of the subject, is the extreme danger to which, in case of the Company's dissolution, the balance of the Constitution would be exposed, by the transfer of the Indian Patronage to the Crown, and the enormous burden which would be entailed on the public, in satisfying the claims of compensation on behalf of the Company, and of all the complicated interests which would be involved in its fate.

That, by the destruction of the Company, a vast number of those Proprietors, amongst whom its capital of twelve millions sterling is divided, would be reduced to extreme distress; and nearly forty thousand persons, directly employed by the Company, with many others indirectly concerned in its prosperity, would be brought to a state of absolute beggary.

That, from the tenor of the preceding considerations, it appears to this Court, that no case of political or commercial delinquency has been established against the Company, to justify the ruin with which they are threatened, or to forfeit their claim to a continuance of

their Charter: that, on the contrary, their commercial management has been frequently deranged and interrupted by costly enterprises, to which they were compelled on grounds of imperial policy, and which no temporary possession could have induced them to execute: that their remonstrances against these undertakings were silenced by reference to future and distant recompense, in the improved prospect of permanent peace, revenue, and commerce, and that, by arguments which implied little less than a pledge that their privileges should be continued, at least until their indemnity should be complete:—and that it is manifestly unjust to allege against them, as a proof of commercial mismanagement, pecuniary difficulties arising out of this forcible diversion of their commercial funds to national purposes.

That, with a view to their financial difficulties, thus incurred on the Public account, the Directors, in the year 1803, apprehending the consequences of the transfer of the Indian territorial debt to England, proposed methods to meet and provide for those consequences; but that His Majesty's Ministers refused to forward those propositions to India, and have not substituted any other proceeding for the same end.

That the Court appeal confidently to the following particulars, from the close of the Fourth Report of the Committee of the House of Commons appointed in the late Parliament, for a proof, not only that the Company have carried on their affairs without any expence to the finances of this country, but that the operations

of their system have been in manifold ways beneficial to its interests.

1st. That since 1791, British industry has been encouraged by the employment of £46,000,000.

2d. That the produce and manufactures of India, purchased with this sum, together with those of China sold in England, realized in sale amount nearly £140,000,000.

3d. That the purchase of the produce and manufactures of England amounted to £29,200,000.

4th. That the employment of British shipping amounted to £25,000,000.

5th. That the duties on imports, collected through the Company at a trifling expence to Government, amounted to £39,300,000; and on exports to £660,000; —together, £39,960,000.

6th. That the combination of these, and other sums, producing £185,960,000, shews that, on an average of the last seventeen years, £10,900,000 has been diffused in various channels through the whole circulation of the British Empire, &c.

That, for proof of the moral and political benefits derived to the population of India from the government of the Company, this Court appeals to the Fifth Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, which exhibits the gratifying picture of a people raised from the lowest disorder and degradation, to a state of industry, security, and freedom; and that this Court confidently hopes, the improvement in the condition of fifty millions of natives will not be interrupted, by the pernicious experiments to which the sanction of Parliament is now so loudly solicited.

That the interests of the Company are now become so interwoven with the political and commercial system of Britain, that, by their sudden dissolution, the credit and grandeur of this country would receive a shock, which *must* be perilous, and *might* be fatal: and that the measures proposed by Government are therefore anxiously to be deprecated, inasmuch as they must have the effect of bringing the Company to speedy destruction.

That, with such a case in favor of the Company, the Court is assured they may approach Parliament with confidence, and without the smallest alarm from the misrepresentations with which they have been assailed; and they are persuaded that the wisdom of that enlightened body will never countenance the sacrifice of clear and positive interests of one class of men, to the contingent and uncertain advantage of another; nor demolish a mighty practical system, which has been raised by such immense exertions, in order to place its materials at the disposal of interested speculation.

That this Court approves, most highly, the firm exertions, by which the Directors have now enabled the Company, if necessary, to bring their case in its integrity before the tribunal of Parliament. They tender their warmest thanks to the Chairman, the Deputy Chairman, and the Court of Directors, for their zeal and ability in support of this important cause; and they trust that, if any opening should present itself for a renewal of the discussion between the Company and His Majesty's Government, upon

the principles detailed in this resolution, it will be conducted by them with the energy and moderation which they have hitherto displayed.

The above resolution was carried without any dissentient voice except that of Mr. Hume. The Court then adjourned, *sine die*.

APPENDIX.

Substance of Lord Buckinghamshire's Letter to the Chairman, noticed in page 76 of the Debate.

"That as to his (Lord B.'s) name being at the head of a subscription to take off by lottery the cargo of the *Rodney*, which could not find a market in India, he had no recollection at all of the circumstance. He did recollect, that upon the arrival of the *Hillsborough* at Madras, it had been signified to him by the Captain, that he should be utterly ruined, if he was obliged to depart without finding a sale for his goods. Upon this representation, he, with others, engaged to take his investment from him, at their own risk; and it was afterwards sold without loss. This was the only recollection he had of any transaction similar to what had been stated."

Opinions of the late Lord Melville, Lord Grenville, Marquis Wellesley, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Pitt, Sir Philip Francis, and the Select Committee of the House of Commons for India Affairs.

Letter from Lord Melville, dated 2d April 1800.

"That the ostensible form of Government, with all its consequent extent and detail of patronage, *must remain as it is*, I am persuaded will never be called in question by any but those *who may be dispos d to sacrifice the freedom and security of our Constitution to their own personal aggrandizement and ill-directed ambition.*

I remain equally satisfied as to the properiety of continuing a monopoly of the trade in the hands of the East-India Company. Those who maintain the reverse, *appear to me, to be misled by general theories, without attending to the peculiar circumstances of the trade they are speaking of.*

"The great interest to be attended to on the part of the Company, is, *that no goods come from India that are not deposited in the Company's Warehouses, and that the goods so imported are disposed of at the Company's sales agreeably to the rules prescribed for that purpose.*"

Marquis Wellesley's Letter, 30th September, 1800.

"It would be equally unjust and impolitic, to extend any facility to the trade of the British Merchants in India, by sacrificing or hazarding the Company's rights or privileges, by injuring its commercial interests, by *admitting an indiscriminate and unrestrained commercial intercourse between India and England,* or by departing from any of the fundamental principles of policy, which now govern the British establishments in India."

Lord Melville's Letter, 21st March, 1801.

"The preservation of the monopoly of the East-India Company is essentially requisite for the security of every important interest connected with our Indian Empire; and so deeply am I impressed with the truth of this proposition, that I am prepared explicitly to declare, that although the first formation of an East-India Company proceeded from purely commercial considerations, the magnitude and importance to which the East-India Company has progressively advanced, is now so interwoven with the political interests of the Empire, as to create upon my mind a firm conviction *that the maintenance of the monopoly of the East-India Company, is even more important to the political interests of the State, than it is to the commercial interests of the Company.*

Mr. Pitt's Speech in the House of Commons, 11th March 1793.

" I have no hesitation in saying, that when all the circumstances are fully before the House, I am confident that a *Renewal of the Company's Charter will appear to be much for the interest of the country.*—It has been said that since the publication of the speech of my right honorable friend (Mr. Dundas) every body believes that the charter will be renewed: and I am glad to hear that such is the case, because it can only arise from a public conviction, that the renewal of the Charter, upon the terms and upon the regulations on which the East-India Company have agreed to accept it, will be much for the interest of this country in every point of view."

Lord Melville's Speech in the House of Commons, April 1793.

Stating " his full conviction, after mature consideration, that if the Indian patronage should be vested and concentred immediately in the Crown, the *weight of it* would be too great in the balance of our government, and might prove dangerous to the spirit of the constitution." *

Sir Philip Francis's Speech in the House of Commons, April 1793.

" With respect to the Renewal of the Company's exclusive Charter to trade to India; I have already

* Mr. Pitt said, he perfectly agreed that a capital speech had been made by Mr. Dundas; this the House and the Public already knew:—A speech which, for comprehensive knowledge of the history of India and of the various sources of the British commerce to the East-Indies, deduced from authenticated statements of Indian affairs, and for wise arrangements for the administration of our Asiatic provinces, and of the general commerce of the empire; a speech which, combining objects formerly thought irreconcilable, presented one great plan for the improvement of the whole; a speech which he would venture to affirm, though it might have been equalled in that House, never had been excelled.—*Debate in the House of Commons, 24th May,* 1793.

said, that I do not object to it. . . . . I very much question the possibility of increasing our exports to India to any material amount, I mean with a *rational security of finding a profitable vent for them.* Except military stores, ammunition, and other implements of war, with which it is not your true policy to furnish the Indian princes, the *manufactures of England can hardly be said to be saleable in India beyond the trifling amount necessary for the consumption of Europeans.*"

Mr. Pitt's Speech in the House of Commons, 24th May 1793.

Mr. Pitt proceeded to examine the observations made by Mr. Fox upon the commercial and political arrangements in the bill. He (Mr. F.) had had recourse to the *common place topic, that a free trade was preferable to a monopoly,* insisting that the House ought not to forget this principle, unless very good reasons should be given for adopting a contrary one. *This speculation,* Mr Pitt said, had been *repeated a thousand times* by much *less ingenious men* than the right hon. member, and scarcely could have been expected to have been resorted to, "*as the force of it had been done away* by his right hon. friend (Mr. Dundas) when he first opened the subject, bottoming his argument, *not on vague speculation* but on *inferences drawn from history and from authenticated accounts.* Here Mr. Pitt asked *whether the claims of the manufacturers had not been listened to and provided for, and whether the exclusive privilege of the Company had not been rendered subservient to the resources of the Empire?*

Lord Grenville's Speech in the House of Lords, 3d June 1793.

Lord Grenville said " that if it were necessary for him to enter at large, into any general detail on the subject of our possessions in India, or any speculative discussion with respect to the mode in which India ought to be governed, and in which the trade of that country ought to be carried on, it would open a very

wide and extensive field indeed; but, in the present case, it did not appear to him that this was in any shape necessary, because he felt that the ground he had to go on was very much narrowed, by having a just and well-founded experience as a guide; a guide which was at all times perhaps the best, but more particularly so under such circumstances as existed at present. *Nine years experience had proved the benefit of the present system, and there appeared therefore no just reason why it should be altered.* The present bill of course assumed for its principle the continuance of that system; but as ideas had been entertained by some, that in the hands of the East-India Company, the trade to India, was confined within narrower limits, than would be the case were it open to be engaged in by the whole capital and the whole spirit of enterprise of this country; provisions were now, for the first time, introduced into the present bill, which would give an opportunity for trying the experiment, by allowing merchants and traders to adventure on their own bottom under certain NECESSARY regulations.

Lord Castlereagh's Opinion expressed in the Debate in the House of Commons on the East-India Budget, 18th July 1806.

It seemed, however, unjust to describe the Company's commerce as carried on at a loss. To what precise extent it might be profitable, after providing a liberal dividend to the proprietors, might be a matter of more difficult calculation, and must, like all commercial results, be in its nature fluctuating; but, in reasoning upon this branch of the Company's affairs, the worthy alderman (Mr. Prinsep) must establish several preliminary facts, before he can expect to persuade Parliament that the commercial existence of the Company is to be considered merely on grounds of mercantile profit. He must be prepared to shew that individuals would be as likely to carry on steadily the commerce of India, under all the fluctuations to which such a trade is liable, where the outgoings are great, and the returns distant, as a great trading

corporation. He must be prepared to dispel the apprehensions which must be entertained with respect to the injurious influence on the prosperity of India, which may be the consequence of an unsteady and unequal demand for their produce, before he can expect to satisfy Parliament that an intercourse, perfectly unrestrained, is preferable to that qualified intercourse, partly free and partly restricted, which now prevails. If he assumes, that individuals by using an inferior description of tonnage, could carry on the trade at less expense, and consequently at greater profit, he must be prepared to shew, that this is not merely by throwing the difference of the expense on the public, by rendering numerous and expensive convoys requisite to protect their feeble vessels in time of war, whilst the Company's ships, with a comparatively slight aid from our navy, are competent to protect each other, and to set the enemy's ships of war, even when in considerable force, at defiance. He must be prepared to shew, that such an establishment as that of the Company, could be kept up without the protection of a qualified monopoly; or that such a system is in itself unnecessary to the political existence of the Company, and the management of large territorial revenues, when both in peace and in war funds must be transferred through the medium of commerce from India to Europe and from Europe to India. He must also shew, before he can establish that the interest of the manufacturer at home is interested in such a change, that individual speculators would be disposed to send out British manufactures, even at some loss, as the Company have frequently done, or that there is any other limit to the amount of this description of export, on the part of the Company, than the utmost quantity the Indian market can take off, which they have not hitherto been able, with their most strenuous efforts and some sacrifices, to carry beyond 2,000,000 a year. These, and many other important doubts must be solved, before any satisfactory or sound conclusion can be come to, on the great practical question (Private

Trade), to which the worthy alderman, somewhat out of time, had been solicitous to point the attention of the Committee.

Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, July 1812.

The Committee, after declaring that they felt it a part of their duty to offer some account of the nature and history of the extensive establishments for the internal administration of India, "trust that such an account will be acceptable to the House, not only as shewing the importance and utility of the establishments themselves, to the welfare and order of the country, but as evincing the *unremitting anxiety that has influenced the efforts of those to whom the government of our Indian possessions has been consigned, to establish a system of administration best calculated to promote the confidence, and conciliate the feelings of the native inhabitants, not less by a respect for their own institutions, than by the endeavour gradually to engraft upon them such improvements, as might shield, under the safeguard of equal laws, every class of the people from the oppressions of power, and communicate to them that sense of protection and assurance of justice, which is the efficient spring of all public prosperity and happiness.*

Historical and Commercial Data on which the East-India Company's Charter was renewed in the year 1793.—*Extract of a Report from the Select Committee, laid before Parliament, previous to passing the Regulating Act in* 1793.

So early as the year 1600, in the infancy of the East-India Trade, the propriety of rendering it a Monopoly became evident to Queen Elizabeth. This truth, thus early acknowledged, has been since considered as an axiom of Government. Whenever it has been departed from, the evils arising from the innovation proved their own cure.

Under reigns so different as those of the Stuarts, and William the Third, this monopolized commerce continued to be guarded by very strong measures of Government.

The Nation even thought necessary to make it a stipulation in she Treaty of Vienna, (concluded in 1731) that the Emperor Charles VI. should, in favour of the British monopoly, give up the Ostend Company, his favourite scheme, in protection of which he had long shut his ears against the clamours of Great Britain and Holland.

The short periods for which the Charter has been, from time to time, renewed, prove that however experience might convince, as to the advantages of an exclusive trade, still there existed in Government a laudable caution with respect to the public benefit, in reserving a power of resumption at a short period.

From this caution, the Company's monopoly, in deriving its stability, derives its glory; for repeated Charters, Royal Proclamations, and Acts of Parliament, have sanctioned the wise policy of Elizabeth.

The emergencies of Government, and that prudence which sometimes prescribes a temporary sacrifice to popular prejudice, have indeed, at some periods, seemed to favour the views of individual adventurers. But these appearances lasted no longer than the necessity which extorted them. It was rather a connivance than a licence.

Neither does it appear that these individuals ever succeeded in their speculations. They bought at a high price, from the poverty of the State, or the venality of its members, a permission to ruin themselves.

There occurs only one instance that forms an exception to the uniform opinion of Government on this great and important commercial point; it is the attempt of Oliver Cromwell, about the year 1655, to lay the trade open. This bold experiment terminated as might have been expected, it confirmed the Protector in the wisdom of that policy which he had doubted. The monopoly was re-established, and

the Company's temporary abolition became, in its consequences, their triumph.

Speech of EARL MOIRA, *at the Entertainment given to his Lordship by the Court of Directors at the City of London Tavern, the 29th January 1813, previous to his departure to assume the office of Governor General, and Commander in-Chief of the Company's Forces in India.*

The Chairman (Sir H. INGLIS) having given—

"Lord Moira, and success to his Government."

After returning thanks for the honour done him, and expressing his earnest desire to merit it by the zeal with which he should endeavour to maintain the important interests committed to his management, his Lordship adverted to the inseparable connexion of those interests with the welfare of the Empire. The sources of that public prosperity which had raised this country so far beyond any other in the world, had been happily suggested to their reflection by the song "God save the King," to which they had listened with so much pleasure. It was indeed to the liberty which this country enjoys under the reign of the Brunswick line, that we must refer all our blessings. The consciousness of this freedom is the spring of all that individual exertion whence arises the strength and splendour of the British Empire. The commerce which has furnished the nerves of that strength, could only have received its energy from the security felt by every one engaged in it, for the undisturbed enjoyment of all that his skill and activity might acquire. The stupendous structure with which he on this occasion had the honour of being publicly connected, rested on no other foundation. And to what a pitch had it been carried!— That room exhibited a strict verification of what elsewhere was but a rhetorical figure. "Her Merchants are Princes,"—Princes, not in extent of

territory alone; but in elevation of soul, and liberality of spirit—Princes, not merely in imperial sway, but in the bestowal of blessings on all over whom they ruled. It had been his duty of late to peruse with particular attention the instructions transmitted from time to time by the Directors, for the management of their possessions in India. The generous equity, the active and unremitting solicitude for the comfort of their Indian subjects, which those instructions uniformly evinced, afforded the proudest triumph for the British character. How nobly those dispositions of the Directors had been seconded by the servants of the Company in India should not rest upon his vague assertion. He would appeal to testimony beyond the reach of possible suspicion. He would recur to documents which afford irrefragable conclusion as to the inestimable advantages obtained by the natives of those districts which had fallen under the dominion of the Company. He alluded to the Reports of the Committee of the House of Commons; judges, so far from partial, that they acted upon severe, if not even hostile, scrutiny. What have these Reports exhibited?—rapid increase of population from the hour that each district became a part of the Company's possessions;—surprising augmentation of revenue, although innumerable imposts, to which the inhabitants had been subjected under their own Princes, were suppressed by the Government of the Company: in short, all that can indicate confidence and security, happiness and affluence. He could not point at those additions of territory without recollecting the valour and conduct of that army to which the empire owed such important acquisitions. He was well aware, that no eulogy from him could render more vivid the lustre which justly attended their services; but it was his pride to have been addressed that day by a title (Commander-in-Chief) which identified him, in all but the glory of their achievements, with the army of the Company: and he might be allowed, from feeling a common interest with it, the gratification of this assertion of its merits. The ability of its officers, the

gallantry of the troops, the splendour of its actions, through a long period of our history; the persevering fortitude with which it has resisted combinations where its numbers appeared wholly disproportioned to the peril—its humanity to the conquered no less signal than its intrepidity in the contest: and the immense value of those possessions which it has added to the general stock, must ever hold forth that army as an object of admiration and respect to the British people. Was there aught beyond this?—yes, that army had the glorious consciousness of having planted benefits wherever it has raised its trophies, and of having marked the career of its triumphs by the diffusion of all the blessings which flow from the distribution of impartial justice and the protection of an enlightened government. Such was the fabric which he had the high distinction of being entrusted to superintend. He saw, yet saw with satisfaction, no brilliancy of career before him, because his predecessors in the Government, and those who had gone before him in the military command, had left no difficulty to be encountered—no dangers to be subdued—still there was enough to gratify honest ambition. It would be sufficient praise for him, if by vigilance and patient assiduity, he could preserve unimpaired that sublime edifice of national glory, which had been reared by the supereminent talents and unconquerable valour of former servants of the Company.

Extract from the SHEFFIELD PETITION, *adverted to by Mr. Grant (the Director), in the preceding Debate.*

—Alarming state of commerce in consequence of exclusion from the Continent of Europe, from America, from Africa, by the difficulty of access, and barbarism of the inhabitants, and from the richest provinces of Asia by the monopoly of the East-India Company, the discontinuance of which would be one

of the most easy and effectual measures for relieving the distresses of the manufacturers, &c. by the discovery and establishment of such new and abundant markets, as would enable us to set at defiance the efforts of the Ruler of France. "If the trade of this United Kingdom were permitted to flow unimpeded over those extensive, luxuriant, and opulent regions, though it might, in the outset, like a torrent represt, swollen by obstruction, when its sluices were first opened, break forth with uncontrolable impetuosity, deluging instead of supplying the district before it; yet, that very violence which at the beginning might be partially injurious, would in the issue prove highly and permanently beneficial; no part being unvisited, the waters of commerce, that spread over the face of the land, as they subsided might wear themselves channels through which they might continue to flow ever afterwards in regular and fertilizing streams; and that to the wealthy, enterprizing, honorable and indefatigable British merchant, conducting in person his own concerns, no obstacle would prove insurmountable, no prejudice invincible, no difficulty disheartning: wants where he found them he would supply, where they did not exist he would create them, by affording the means of gratification.

THE END.

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AT THE

GENERAL COURT OF PROPRIETORS

OF

EAST-INDIA STOCK,

ON

THE 17TH AND 23D FEBRUARY 1813,

ON

A PETITION TO PARLIAMENT

FOR A

RENEWAL

OF THE

COMPANY'S CHARTER

AS FAR AS IT REGARDS

THEIR EXCLUSIVE PRIVILEGES.

BY THE EDITOR OF THE FORMER DEBATES.

WITH AN

APPENDIX:

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1813.

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THE *Editor* has, at length, completed the Debates held at the several adjourned COURTS OF PROPRIETORS, on what, for distinction's sake, has been called

THE INDIA QUESTION:

and whether it be considered in respect to the welfare of the *Company*, the happiness of *Eastern millions*, or the safety of the *British Empire*, it is one of the most momentous questions that could agitate the interest, the talents, and the honour of the greatest orators and statesmen. As the same question is to be solemnly discussed in the Houses of Parliament, he conjures the Members of both, before they make up their minds on light persuasion, or popular grounds, to study the opinion, and weigh the arguments of those, whose lives have been conversant in, and whose abilities devoted to, the commerce and legislation of so vast an Empire.

He has added, in an Appendix, the Petition of the East India Company; and a Report of the Committee of Correspondence, so frequently alluded to in the Debates—a Report, whose perspicuity of arrangement, and soundness of reasoning, cannot fail to convince the judgment of all those who are unbiassed and independent.

A Table of Contents, with the names of all the Speakers in the several Days' Debates, is also added.

PROCEEDINGS, &c.

EAST-INDIA HOUSE, *February* 17, 1813.

The Minutes of the last Court having been read—

Sir Hugh Inglis (the Chairman) opened the proceedings by stating,—he had to inform the Proprietors, that the present Court was summoned to take into consideration a *Petition* which was prepared to be laid before Parliament *for the renewal of the Company's Charter*; which, with their permission, should be immediately read to them.

The Petition (for which see Appendix) having been read;

Sir Hugh Inglis, in continuation, observed, that the Court having heard the Petition read, he need not state to them that it was one of no common importance. On the fate of that Petition depended *their* dearest interests—the multifarious interests of different bodies connected with the city of London, the river Thames, and all the

adjacent country—the prosperity and good government of the Company's territories in India—the happiness of millions of persons committed to their charge in that country—and, "though last, not least," the security of the immense revenue collected in England, through the Indian Commerce, as now carried on;—for if, by the proposed alteration, any great change were to be effected in that revenue, there could be no doubt, that the general welfare of the whole country would be much impaired by it.—(*Hear! hear!*) Having stated this, and the Petition having been read to the Court, he would merely observe, that it was scarcely possible for gentlemen to carry the whole of its contents in their minds, from *one* reading.—(*Hear! hear!*) He should, therefore, submit to the Court, if they were anxious to come to a decision that day, to have the petition read over again—(*Hear! hear!*) It was not the wish of the Court of Directors to proceed precipitately on this great question; but, at the same time, they felt that delay was not desirable. They were expected to come forward with their cause speedily. He hoped it was a good one—(*Hear! hear!*)—and he believed the more generally the state of that cause was known, on a higher and more elevated ground would the Company stand in public estimation.—(*Hear! hear!*) It rested

with the Court, either to come to a decision immediately, or to express their wishes for a farther delay. If they should prefer delay, he hoped it would not be for any considerable time.

There was only one point more connected with the Petition that had just been read, which he would touch upon before he sat down. Certain blanks were left for the amount of bonds paid off by the Company, the reason for which was, that as the sums were fluctuating every day, the amount could not be inserted correctly till the day when the Petition should be presented to Parliament. He had to observe on this subject, that the Company were authorised by law to raise £7,000,000 by bonds; but, from circumstances, which must be evident to every gentleman in that Court, those bonds had been coming in of late more rapidly than the Company had any reason to expect; or than would have been the case, under more favourable circumstances. It might, however, be satisfactory for the Court to know how the bonds stood at present. There were outstanding against the Company, bonds to the amount of £5,441,000 of the £7,000,000 they were allowed to raise. In conclusion, the Chairman observed, he should be very happy to hear the sentiments of any honourable Proprietor on the Petition.

Mr. *Rock* observed, that every person who had heard the Petition just read, must perceive at one glance, that the Court was assembled at an awful crisis. He would, therefore, ask, whether it was more proper to come to a decision then, or to postpone their determination to a future day. The subject was one of the utmost importance; the existence of the Company was at stake; and, in making up their minds, they ought to proceed with the most serious deliberation. For that purpose he thought a short delay was advisable. If, therefore, he proposed an adjournment to Monday or Tuesday next, he hoped it would not be considered too distant a period. Should it be the opinion of the gentlemen on the other side of the bar, that they ought to meet earlier, he should have no objection; but he trusted that the Court would avoid every thing that looked like precipitation. The honourable proprietor was proceeding to move "That the Court should adjourn to Tuesday next, to take the Petition into consideration," when

Sir Hugh Inglis suggested to him, not to move the adjournment of *the Court*, but *of the consideration of the Petition*, to another day; perhaps there were other communications, necessary to be then made to the Court.

Mr. *Rock* observed, that he did not mean to

interfere with any ulterior business which it might be thought proper to bring forward.

Mr. *Trower* said, he, for one, was ready to come to an immediate decision. The question had been long before the Court, and, as it had been maturely considered, he was of opinion, that they ought then to state their determination. The Petition which had been just read, it was true, differed considerably from that which it was formerly intended to present; but the alterations appeared to him to be most judicious, and were perfectly suited to the situation in which the Company were placed. But the subject matter of the petition was well understood; they long since knew the point to which they should be driven; and, therefore, nothing novel was contained in the petition. Like all the other papers which had proceeded from the Court of Directors, it was an able, enlightened, and comprehensive production.—*(Hear! hear!)*—The subject had been so often discussed, that nothing new could be advanced upon it: the question had, indeed, been almost exhausted; and under such circumstances, it was with very great diffidence he trespassed on the attention of the Court, being aware of the difficulty of touching on any point which had not already been noticed. He thought, however, that the attention of the Court should

be called to their real situation, that they might see the necessity of making exertions, both collectively and individually, in support of their rights. At a former period, His Majesty's Ministers had come to an agreement with the Company, that certain points were to be given up as the basis of the renewal of their charter. The petition drawn up on this foundation was to receive the support of Ministers. Subsequently, however, they had called on the Court of Directors to agree to farther concessions: these concessions they considered hostile to the best interests of the Company; and, therefore, they had resisted them. This had led to a rupture of the negociation; and they were then about to present themselves at the bar of the Legislature, unsupported by his Majesty's Ministers—depending solely on the expediency of the measure, and the justice of their cause. The difficult situation in which they were placed, in consequence, was obvious; but he hoped that Parliament would not suffer this great Company to be sacrificed to a clamour set up by a few misjudging and interested individuals. That the Government of the country should support the delusion was astonishing; that they should join in the cry could scarcely be believed; but, such being the fact, it was the duty of the Court to oppose, with all their

strength, the parties who had risen up against them. They ought not to be surprised, nor intimidated, by the loudness or clamour of their enemies. A reference to their history would shew, that, at a former period, they were assailed by enemies equally loud and equally noisy. But, at that time, the firmness of the Company, backed by the wisdom of Parliament, was able to silence their adversaries, as he hoped they would now be able to silence the empty declamations of the advocates of the Outports.—*(Hear! hear!)*—He wished not to speak disrespectfully of any set of men; but he would call on the Court to look at their pamphlets, which contained neither fair argument nor sound reasoning; but abounded in declamation without argument, and assertion without proof. Yet such were the models to which they were sent by His Majesty's Ministers, to learn the lessons of wisdom, and imbibe the maxims of prudence.—*(Hear! hear!)*—In some of these pamphlets the history of the trade of the Portuguese with India was quoted as a proof that an unrestricted commerce with that Company might be carried on with success; and as affording evidence that a chartered monopoly was unnecessary. Now admitting the fact that the trade of the Portuguese was an open one, he drew a very different inference from that which

the opponents of the Company thought proper to deduce. In his opinion, they ought to ascribe the destruction of the Portuguese power and fame in India, to the enormous excesses of individuals connected with the private trade; which excesses and enormities would never have been committed had the trade been regulated by the wholesome superintendance of a Company.—*(Hear! hear!)*—In that case, the natives would not have opened their arms to the Dutch to deliver them from those oppressions under which they suffered from the cupidity and avarice of those free adventurers. —*(Hear! Hear!)*—Some persons had bolstered up their own sentiments, by quoting the authority of Dr. Adam Smith, who had expressed a decided opinion against the interests of the Company. Every thing which fell from that great man was entitled to respect; but it should be recollected, that, since he wrote, a very essential alteration had taken place in the situation of the Company. At that time, they were, *politically*, of little importance; but they were now, in that respect, of mighty moment.—*(Hear! hear!)*—And the present question was more nearly connected with their *duties* as *sovereigns*, than their *privileges* as *merchants*.—*(Hear! hear!)*—It did not, therefore, follow, because fifty years ago Dr. Smith, in a treatise on political economy, gave an opinion

adverse to the Company, that he should now. under circumstances entirely new, adhere to the same opinion.—*(Hear! hear!)*—But, even if it were otherwise, if it were deemed more proper to decide the question by a reference to authorities, than by the evidence of facts, the friends of the Company could adduce opinions in their favour, not merely of philosophers, but of statesmen, the greatest this country ever saw. Many of those opinions had already been mentioned; and he now wished to add to the list the name of the immortal Burke, whose opinion on this subject was entitled to greater weight, because it proceeded from one of the most determined and formidable enemies the Company ever had.—Speaking on Mr Fox's bill, he thus expressed himself—"I feel an insuperable reluctance to lend my hand to destroy any established form of government, for a theory however perfect.—My experience teaches me nothing clear on this subject—I have known merchants with the sentiments and abilities of great statesmen, and I have seen persons in the situation of statesmen, with the characters and conceptions of pedlars." *(Laughter.)* Mr. Burke went on to say, that no accidental circumstance, that nothing but the most imperious necessity should induce the Parliament to take the ma-

nagement of the affairs of India out of the Company's hands. *(Hear! hear!)* Such was the opinion of that great man, at the very moment when he was shaking the foundation of their authority, by the thunders of his eloquence. *(Hear! hear!)* A reference to what occurred at that period, would afford a very strong argument in favour of the present system. For if, when abuses were admitted to exist, which called for another hand to rectify—if, under circumstances, over which he would rather throw the veil of oblivion, than call them to the recollection of the Court—if, in such a state of things, it was not deemed expedient to strip the Company of their rights and privileges—with how much less propriety can such a measure now be advanced, when all parties concurred in bearing witness to the happiness and security of millions who are placed under their sway!—*(Hear! hear!)* It might, formerly, have been observed, with some degree of propriety, that whatever was the hazard of the experiment, the danger was such as called for it; for it was to secure the liberty of the natives of India, who had a strong claim on humanity and justice. But now the arguments were all on the other side. The benefits held out were merely problematical and contingent, while the evils were certain and perma-

nent. *(Hear! hear!)* To the inhabitants of India it was a melancholy prospect, threatening to destroy that peaceful security, that happy tranquillity, which they had so long enjoyed under the mild and beneficent government of the Company. *(Hear! hear!)* What might they not fear from the influx of private adventurers, who would feel no sympathy for the inhabitants of those countries?—What might they not fear from men who would take advantage of the mild character of those people, to beggar them by extortion, and crush them to the earth by their cruelties?—The torrent of revolution would ultimately overwhelm, not only those who produced, but those who deprecated the evil. The country would at length rise in revenge against its oppressors; the innocent and the guilty would alike fall victims to the rage of the people, and the English, like the Portuguese, would be swept from the Peninsula. *(Hear! hear!)* Admitting, however, that there were good grounds for altering the system, no period could have been selected, for that purpose, more improper or more injudicious, than that which His Majesty's Ministers had chosen. They had not chosen it either with reference to the present state of the Country, or the affairs of the Company, but they had been influenced by a clamour out of doors.

That clamour appeared to have effected a very great alteration in their minds—it had occasioned them to turn their backs on their old faithful friends, the East-India Company. And it was to be hoped that the new light which they had discovered, would direct them in removing every monopoly of the rights of man.—Yet these were the Ministers, who made it their boast that they trod in the footsteps of the immortal Pitt!—Ministers, who, while they sympathised with the petitioners from the outports, had no sympathy for the religious feelings of millions of their fellow-subjects in Ireland.—Ministers who, while they advocated freedom of trade, were imposing an embargo on conscience; who, while they deprecated a commercial monopoly, were supporting, with all their power, a monopoly of religion! (*Hear! hear!*)

He had observed, that no period could be worse chosen for those innovations, and he called upon the Court to examine the truth of his statement. It was in the midst of one of the most extensive and distressing wars this country was ever engaged in—a war which had continued for twenty years—for he took no account of the short and feverish peace of 1801, which was a cessation of arms, but not of hostility—a war by which the East-India Company had suffered more than any other class of His

Majesty's subjects—not merely by the increased expenditure necessary for the protection of their trade, not merely by the diminution of that trade, but by wars carried on in India, for the benefit of the empire—which had exhausted their revenue, and left them burdened with debt!—Wars commenced not only contrary to their wish and to their instruction, but contrary to the spirit of their Charter. (*Hear! hear!*) At the same time, he meant not to quarrel with the motives which occasioned these wars, that were conducted with ability, and concluded with success. But, as they were prosecuted for national objects, the expense ought to have been defrayed out of the national purse. (*Hear! hear!*) Such was the period Ministers had selected for making this alteration—a period not of prosperity, but of distress—when the pressure upon their affairs was greater than at any former time. To complete the picture, let them call to mind the promises which were held out to them by the Charter of 1793—let the Court look at the items which were disposed of by a single dash of the pen.—Large annual payments to government—a guarantee fund of £12,000,000—immense profits to the Company—these were the sanguine expectations then cherished. But these phantoms of the imagination had vanished,

and they might now contrast their actual condition, loaded with a debt of £30,000,000, with these visionary promises. Having done this, it must be allowed, if ever there was a period when the Company had a right to complain of disappointed expectations, it was now —having suffered, and suffered severely, not from any fault of their own, but from those sacrifices which they had made for the good of their Country. And, on the other hand, if ever there was a period when the Company were entitled to the support and assistance of Parliament, if ever there was a period when they deserved to be protected against the clamours and encroachments of their enemies, and to have their privileges preserved to them entire, the present was that period.—*(Hear !)* From the Ministers who had selected such a time for innovation, who had joined in the general outcry against them—and called on them, imperatively, to make such extraordinary sacrifices, they could expect no assistance—but, from the wisdom of Parliament they might hope for every thing—on their justice they might rely—to them they might safely confide, not their own interests only, but the interests of millions, which were committed to their care—with these truths the Court were long acquainted, and, therefore, he saw no necessity

for putting off the debate. They had only now to rest their cause on the decision of Parliament —and to that tribunal their appeal should be made without delay.

Mr. *K. Smith* said, he was never more surprised than when he saw the hon. gentleman (Mr. Rock) rise to put off their decision till Monday or Tuesday. The petition he considered as one of the most masterly that was ever drawn up; and he was one of those who thought, that no delay should take place in presenting it; they would lose, instead of gaining ground. While they delayed, those who were opposed to them were making every possible exertion. At that moment, delegates from Scotland, England, and Ireland, were collecting all the interests they could, to destroy the rights and privileges of the Company; and the longer they were detained from going before Parliament, the more formidable did their enemies become. In his opinion, the Court were ready, at that moment, to come to a decision, and the sooner they did so the better.

Mr. *Impey* said, that, merely as an individual, he should be as ready to come to an immediate decision, as any person in that Court. It was a question which he and many others had so fully considered, that they were perfectly com-

petent to judge of it in all its bearings.—But still, there were two reasons which induced him to vote for a short adjournment. In the first place, it was not every gentleman in that Court who had paid the same attention to the subject, and to the Petition, as he, and perhaps some others, had done—to such gentlemen time ought to be allowed, that they might examine the various subjects it contains.—There was another consideration of still more importance, which had been urged on a former occasion—and that was, the way in which they ought to come before the public—if, immediately after reading so long a paper, without further reflection, they should agree to it, their enemies would say, and the public might think, the Company were influenced by no consideration but their own interest, they would appear to act with hurry and precipitation—without taking time to deliberate. Was it not better, he would ask, for the Company to create an opinion in their favour, by agreeing to the short adjournment which the hon. proprietor had moved? The delay to Monday or Tuesday could make very little difference to the Court; they could then come to a decision with more dignity, and their Petition would, consequently, have greater weight with Parliament itself.

Mr. *R. Jackson* said, as the proposition had not been seconded, he rose for the purpose of doing himself the honour of seconding the motion for adjourning the consideration of the Petition till Tuesday next.

Sir *Hugh Inglis* informed the Court, that there was another Petition to be laid before them, and it would be better, he thought, if, when it was read, the consideration of both should be adjourned to the same day.

The second Petition (for which see Appendix,) was then read.

Mr. *Hume*, in reference to certain remittances of bullion, mentioned in the Petition, inquired, whether they arose from the surplus revenue of last year, or were transmitted to answer bills drawn in India on this country?

Sir *Hugh Inglis* answered, that these remittances were not for bills drawn on this country; and he had the pleasure of stating, that the surplus revenue of India, for last year, was £1,500,000.—(*Hear! hear!*) There were two other petitions; but as they were mere matters of form, being petitions praying leave to present petitions, he did not think there was any necessity to read them then.

Mr. *Rock* then moved, that the consideration of this Petition, as well as the former, be adjourned to Tuesday next.

Mr. *Impey* said, that several of the proprietors were anxious to know when those papers were likely to be printed.

Sir *Hugh Inglis* observed, he had some doubt whether it was perfectly decorous to print petitions before they were presented to the House of Commons. They might, however, be read by persons coming to the India House. He wished to give them publicity as soon as possible. The more the first was considered, the more it would redound to the interest of the Company. The moment it was presented, it should be printed.

Mr. *R. Jackson* said, the grounds on which he was about to recommend the Court to adjourn the consideration of the Petition, had been anticipated by his hon. friend (Mr. Impey). One of them was, that, although others and himself had exercised no inconsiderable industry on the subjects connected with the Petitions, and although their minds might be perfectly made up on the question, yet there were many hon. Proprietors present, and many absent, who could not be expected to understand all the points that were touched upon. The Petition, as it appeared to him, contained three great propositions—first, the history of the Company,—next, the rights which they possessed—and lastly, their

administration of those rights. These were the three greatest propositions that could well be devised on the subject—each of them was much reasoned upon—and, towards the latter part, a great number of statements in figures were introduced, which it was impossible for the human mind to follow and to understand with the mere assistance of a single reading. Therefore, he thought, it would not be candid to press an immediate decision on so important a document.

The other reason which influenced him, and which had also been anticipated by his honourable friend was, the situation in which they ought to appear before the country. Let the Court look to the situation in which it at present stood. They were not merely to confirm an act of the Directors, but they were expressly called upon to perform an act themselves. Lord Buckinghamshire had expressly desired, that the business in dispute should be referred to the whole of the Proprietors, in General Court assembled, and that the Directors should convey to Ministers the result. Consequently, this was not only in legal and formal *parlance*, the act of the Court, but was, in truth, the deliberate and digested act of the Proprietors. Now, it was not in human nature for any one to say (who had not made the subject his particular study), "I can sign my name

to this Petition—this body of reasoning—this allegation and assertion of right—this narrative of our history—this record of our claims, on no other ground than merely hearing it once read."

However public he should desire the Petition to be made, in point of decorum he did not think it could be printed, until it had been laid before Parliament. He never understood, when petitions were to be presented to persons of high consideration, as those who composed the Legislature undoubtedly were, that it was quite respectful to print them. He would, therefore, recommend, merely as an addition, not as a formal amendment, to the motion, that copies of the Petition should be left at the India-House for the information of such Proprietors as chose to examine them; which would meet every fair object of publicity, without being at all indecorous.

He was extremely glad that the question which had been put by an honourable Proprietor (Mr. Hume) had called forth the answer which had been given to it; for, if he had gone away without some such explanation, a misapprehension might have taken place. It might be supposed that, having been disappointed in the profits of their trade, and all their hopes and expectations having evaporated, as another honourable

Proprietor (Mr. Trower) had observed, these circumstances formed the strongest ground for refusing them a renewal of their charter; and, therefore, to counteract any such idea, it was proper that the real state of the case should be known, and that the whole body of the public should be aware of the true situation of the Company. In reference to what had fallen from that honourable Proprietor on the subject of the disappointments said to have been experienced by the Company since 1793, he thought it necessary to observe, lest these statements should be urged against them by their enemies, that Lord Melville would have been justified in anticipating even greater advantages than he had looked forward to in that year. For the correctness of this assertion, he would appeal to an honourable gentleman (Mr. Hume) as ingenious as any of them in his calculations: their prospects at that time had been by no means too highly coloured; but they were clouded by a vast train of events over which no human power had any controul—for which no human wisdom could provide—events relating rather to their Country than to themselves. If they had been distressed by those events, they had at least the satisfaction of proving that they were the victims sacrificed to the general good of the country:—(*Hear! hear!*)—

and they might go away with this proud, this glorious consolation, that, however they might have suffered; however their interests might have been impaired; however just the sacrifices they had made (and incalculably great they were); still, in proportion to those sacrifices their Country had risen in glory, prosperity, and security.—(*Hear! hear!*) This observation applied more particularly to the second Petition, because many persons, unacquainted with the circumstances, might deem it strange, that they who were applying for a renewal of their Charter, should also call for a fresh loan. This naked, abstract fact, unnoticed and unexplained, might operate against the Company. But as the fact really stood, as their revenue had been exhausted for national objects, no honourable man, no sound politician, could refrain from giving them that assistance which their exertions in the general cause of the empire rendered necessary. No person could support such a principle, unless he was prepared to say, that it was right and wise for the Dutch and Danes to be again placed in possession of those territories they formerly held in India—unless he was prepared to say, that the French should again possess that powerful footing which they had procured by intrigue, and which they would have held to the present hour, but for the expen-

diture of those sums which belonged to the Company, but which were applied to political purposes, in exterminating from the soil of India the enemies of the British empire. Surely, then, no man could refuse reimbursing them in these sums, unless, as he before observed, he was ready to admit, that the possessions of their enemies should be restored to them again. It would, in his opinion, be base and dishonest, and disgraceful, for any man to rise up in that Court, or elsewhere, to oppose such assistance being afforded to the East-India Company, except he meant to maintain, that the French, and the Dutch, and the Danes, should have their possessions given back to them, or that they ought never to have been dislodged from that country.—(*Hear! hear!*) In times so critical as these, when the reputation of the Company was attacked, when their existence was at stake, they ought not to permit any one fact, which might operate against the justice of their cause, to go forth unexplained or uncontradicted.—(*Hear! hear!*)

Mr. *Hume* said, when he took the liberty of putting a question to the honourable Chairman, it was not from any ignorance of the fact to which it referred, but he was anxious that the public should know it from official authority. He had reason to think that their most sanguine

expectations would be realized; and, therefore, he wished to check the desponding opinion which had been promulgated by an honourable proprietor (Mr. Trower). That honourable gentleman would have the Court understand, that all their views had been disappointed, and all their hopes deceived. He (Mr. Hume) was of a contrary opinion. They were not to receive those facts merely as stated, but they were to examine the events by which they were occasioned. He therefore wished to weaken the impression which might be made by the honourable gentleman's arguments; and to maintain, that the Company were not so much deceived and disappointed as he would lead the Court to believe. He thought that the fears expressed by the honourable gentleman of the dreadful effects which opening the trade would produce, contained the greatest libel on the Company's government in India that he had ever heard. It was impossible for a few petty adventurers to destroy the systematic order which the Company had established in India, and which he hoped would long flourish under their auspices. He had before said, and the assertion was founded on his own experience, that the present Government of India, admirably constituted, and ably administered as it was on all sides allowed to be, was sufficiently strong and powerful

to check any irregularities or disorders which, by possibility, could exist. The honourable gentleman had arraigned His Majesty's Ministers for bringing forward the question at the present moment, but he should have recollected, that it was the approaching expiration of their Charter, and not His Majesty's Ministers, which had rendered the consideration of the subject imperative. The Company went before Parliament because their situation rendered such a step necessary; but Ministers were not to blame, since the act was evidently that of the Company. He was anxious that it should not be thought that Ministers had selected this most unfortunate hour, as it had been termed; and he hoped the Court would not be carried away by the *idea*, that they had imposed an unnecessary trouble on themselves, since, in fact, it was a duty which had arisen from the circumstances of the case. With respect to the present being an unfavourable moment, he again differed from the honourable gentleman. For, if it were ever admitted that any change was necessary to be effected, surely this was the time: when India is in a state of profound repose,—when peace and quietness pervaded every part of those vast territories—when a surplus revenue, to a considerable amount, is about to be remitted—such a period was more peculiarly adapted for mak-

ing an alteration, than any other which had occurred from the commencement of the Charter to the present hour. He was anxious to have seconded the motion for adjournment, not on account of any of the reasons which had been assigned—but because he thought the first Petition contained one or two positions, which were at variance with each other, and ought, therefore, to be removed. The claim of the Company was as good and as just as any that had ever been laid before the Legislature, and he had no doubt that it would receive all the attention which its importance demanded. But he thought they should not be in such a hurry to make their request, as, by their precipitation, to refuse any thing, if they were not successful in obtaining the primary object. They called on the Legislature to grant them all that was consistent with their rights, and which was necessary for the good government of India; but, in a subsequent grant, having, in the first instance, thrown themselves on the wisdom and justice of Parliament, there were one or two words which, by some persons, might be considered as inconsistent with the general prayer of the Petition. And, here, he thought it right that he should avow the motives by which he was actuated. He had been called an enemy to the Company, but he denied the

accusation—his anxiety and his object were, to continue the prosperity of the Company—to increase their wealth—and to add to their security—every thing he had done, every thing he had said, had that view only—however unfortunate he was in the interpretation which had been put upon his conduct.—He thought the following sentence in the Petition was objectionable, and should be altered—"That it would be *unjustifiable* in the Company to become parties to any system, which, after mature consideration, they had the best founded reasons for believing would be an illusion." Now, having thrown themselves on the justice of Parliament, he did not think that they ought to say, they would refuse any thing.—He was of opinion, that, while they endeavoured to get all they could, they should not say "*no*" to any thing that was offered—(*Laughter*) He hoped, therefore, that time would be given to gentlemen to consider whether the Petition was consistent throughout; and, if it should appear, that the Company refused any thing, he trusted the paragraph containing such refusal, would be excluded.

Sir *Hugh Inglis* requested Mr. Hume to read the words again, to which he objected—Mr. Hume complied, observing, that it had been his intention to have asked for information on the

subject which was particularly alluded to in that passage; but he had waved his original design in consequence of the motion for an adjournment.

Mr. *Pattison* (a Director) begged leave to offer a few words on a very important and a very curious point—the words which the hon. gent. had read did not exist in the Petition—*(Hear! hear!)* Now, though he had not found them there, it was evident he must have found them somewhere—the sentence which he read was—"That it would be *unjustifiable* in the Company to become parties to any system, which, after mature consideration, they had the best founded reasons for believing would be an illusion." He had brought forward the term *unjustifiable*, which was not contained in the wording of the Petition—now it was very remarkable, that this identical paragraph, on which the hon. Proprietor had commented, was the subject of considerable discussion in the Court of Directors—*(Hear! hear!)*—and it was still more extraordinary that the word *unjustifiable* did originally constitute a part of it—*(Hear! hear!)*—But the good sense of the Court operated to expunge that word, and the sentence was put in another shape,—more palatable to the Proprietors,—more respectful to the Hon. House before which the Petition was to be

laid—and less likely to be misunderstood—he would, therefore, inquire of the hon. Proprietor from what source he obtained his information—for, by some means or other he must have seen the Petition before it was amended—the Petition was considered a sort of secret in the Court of Directors, and by no means a matter of public notoriety. The hon. Proprietor appeared to have exerted the same industry with which he had before ineffectually endeavoured to enlighten the Court, to find out what?—That which did not now exist in the Petition—he should therefore now move, that the sentence be read—it would be found in an improved and modified state, and not subject to the objection which the hon. Proprietor had advanced.

The passage, which ran thus, was then read: "Your petitioners submit, that they *would not be justified*, in becoming parties to any system," &c.

Mr. *Hume* contended, that the paragraph was stronger than he had imagined; inasmuch as the *negative* of a *positive verb*, was more powerful than the *affirmative* of an *adjective*.—He did not found his objection on any particular word—but he asked, did not the whole sentence tend to the refusal of something?—that was the whole jut of his argument. As to the inquiry of the hon. Director, with respect to the source from whence he

derived his information, he must be aware, that it would be a breach of that good faith which he seemed to prize so much himself, if he (Mr. Hume) in answer to a public question, should divulge a private communication—he might, however, without any breach of confidence, observe, that perhaps the information came from the hon. Director himself.

Mr. *Pattison* requested the hon. gent. to repeat the sentence with which he had concluded.

Mr. *Hume* meant to say, that, from the quarter through which he had received his intelligence, it was not impossible, but it might have originally proceeded from the hon. gent. himself.

Mr. *Pattison* requested the hon. Chairman to support him through this very *paradoxical* statement.

The hon. gent. said, "it was not impossible but the information might have been received through him," (Mr. Pattison)—now, as he had never known the hon. gent.; as he had never seen him, except in that Court, when he occupied their attention for about seven hours; as he had never particularly noticed him, except once, when he felt it his duty to call him to order; he thought it was highly indecorous, that he should impute to him any participation in this singular transaction. It was a perfect *paradox*; and, after

having heard so many from the hon. gentleman, he congratulated him on this last one, which was a *climax.—(Laughter.)*

Hon. Mr. *Elphinstone* spoke to order.—The subject before the Court was of the utmost importance, and gentlemen ought to confine themselves to it.

Mr. *Hume* appealed to the Court, whether any thing irregular which had passed, was not occasioned by the conduct of the hon. gent.—(Mr. Pattison).

Sir *Hugh Inglis* said, that the hon. Proprietor (Mr. Hume) had, by implication, thrown out a hint, that it was not impossible that his information had come from his (Sir H. Inglis's) hon. friend—and it was right that he should justify himself from the imputation—he (Sir H. Inglis) did not believe that the information did come from that gent.; but from the same quarter which had afforded the hon. Proprietor (Mr. Hume) those particulars which he had detailed to the Court on a former day.

Mr. *Howarth* (M. P.) said, that the present was one of the most interesting subjects that could possibly come under their consideration; and he felt that it was utterly impossible, from one short reading of that Petition, which contained not only matter important to their inter-

ests, but to the general interests of the Country, for any individual to agree immediately in the propriety of all its parts. He was sorry to observe, that an hon. Proprietor (Mr. Trower) in the course of a speech, which certainly displayed great eloquence, had introduced topics which he thought had better been avoided—he knew no purpose which such language, levelled at His Majesty's Ministers, could answer, except to excite greater opposition against the Company, than they at present experienced—but he felt convinced, that neither the public clamours without doors, nor the clamours within, would influence the government in the conclusion to which they would ultimately come—it was his firm hope and belief, that the question would be decided, not according to the selfish interests of any body of men, but on the general principles of national good—another hon. Proprietor (Mr. Smith) had desired them to come to a speedy decision, lest their enemies should make head against them—but he, on the contrary, would say—"if your cause be good, call on your enemies to bring forward all their force—let them advance with all their powers—let them make their utmost efforts —that, in the end, you may prove the justice of your claims superior to all the opposition of your adversaries."—*(Hear! hear!)*—He merely rose

to make his claim, like other Proprietors, to have a due time allowed for consideration, on one of the most important questions that ever was agitated before them—the Petition was extremely complete in its nature, and, therefore, he trusted sufficient delay would be granted for a proper examination of it. This was more regular, and would have a much better effect, than if they came to a premature decision.

Sir *Hugh Inglis* then put the question, "that the farther consideration of the Petitions be adjourned till Tuesday next;" at the same time, he thought it was but justice to the gentlemen behind the bar, to state, that they had considered the subject maturely, and there was no hesitation on their parts to come to a decision then; in deference, however, to the opinions of the Proprietors, they readily agreed to the proposed delay.

The motion was then agreed to.

Sir *Hugh Inglis* next observed, that the Court would please to recollect, that, when the letter from the Earl of Buckinghamshire was read on a former day, that nobleman referred the Company to the petitions which had been laid on the table of the House of Commons. In consequence of this reference the Committee of Correspondence had taken the substance of those petitions into their consideration, and had come to a report on

the subject—which report had met with the unanimous approbation of the Court of Directors. He might venture to speak of that report, not being one of the parties who drew it up, as a very able and luminous production. If the Court pleased, the letter which accompanied the report to the Earl of Buckinghamshire, and his answer to it, should be then read. As the report itself was of great length, and as it was now in the press, and would be ready for delivery on the following day, perhaps the Court would allow it to be read short.

The letters referred to, were then read at length, and the title of the report of the Committee of Correspondence, as was suggested by the hon. Chairman, was also read—(for which documents, see Appendix)—after which the Court adjourned to Friday, February 23.

FRIDAY, *February* 23, 1813.

The Minutes of the last Court having been read by the Clerk,

The Chairman (Sir *Hugh Inglis*) stated to the Proprietors that they were assembled to take into further consideration the petition agreed to by

the last Court. He had to inform them that there had been several alterations made in the Petition, which, the Directors hoped, would meet with their approbation. Those alterations were open to their arguments and suggestions, as they concerned a subject of such great and vital importance to their interests. He thought the Petition had better be read as it now stood, and the alterations would be pointed out as they occurred.

The Petition was then read; and before the alterations made in it, had been stated to the Court,

Mr. *Abel Chapman* rose. He said that the prayer of that Petition comprehended matter of so much importance to the Company and the empire at large, he hoped he might stand excused if he was not content to give a silent vote. The nature and importance of our possessions in India were particularly well known, not only to the gentlemen employed in the administration of its affairs—not only in earlier but in later times, but also to the honourable Proprietor (Mr. Hume) who had laid before the Proprietors his sentiments on the importance and the high advantages derived to this country from the present mode of directing the East-India establishment; they were, also, as well known to the natural enemies of this

country, if he might so call them, the French nation; that nation had frequently betrayed both envy and admiration at the value and importance of those possessions as they affected the affairs and the interests of England. On a particular occasion, when Lord Malmesbury was applied to by the French ambassador for the purpose of regulating some plans for the peace of Europe, that noble lord told the French minister it was impossible that Europe could enjoy peace whilst the French maintained possession of Holland, the Low Countries, and other territories, not the natural possession of that country. The answer his lordship obtained from that plenipotentiary was " my Lord, your empire in the East is so well governed and so admirably regulated that I must take the liberty of saying that I never saw a system of government established in the colonies of any nation at once so adapted for its own preservation and the advantage of the mother country."

So thoroughly did he (Mr. Chapman) agree in the justice of that observation of the French ambassador, that he thought it was impossible to make *any* alteration in the establishments of the India Company, without overturning the whole system. He would never consent that a single brick of the ancient aud venerable fabrick,

which had been raised by them at an expense of so much blood and treasure, should be removed; because he was persuaded such a breach would thereby be made in its present sound structure, as it would be impossible ever to repair. He thought that that system which had answered all the purposes ever intended by it, and exceeded those ever hoped from it, ought to be preserved and maintained in every particle; convinced as he was that any alteration in the old system would not only be destructive of the British empire in the East, but give birth to a train of evil consequences which it would be impossible for this country, with all the exertion of its wisdom and of its energy, to avert. It was a gratifying circumstance to reflect upon, that whilst Europe was ravaged with war, and all her nations shaken almost to the centre, the British empire in the East enjoyed a perfect tranquillity; and this by the wisdom and sound policy of those who administered her affairs, whilst those advantages cost the mother country nothing to acquire or to maintain. When he beheld the vast importance of those services which the India Company had performed for the benefit of Great Britain, by their wise administration, he was impressed with admiration and wonder; and he could not but entertain a confident hope that the English go-

vernment would not adopt any measure which would disappoint the Company of those strong claims upon its justice and its gratitude. By the wise administration established in India, the Company had secured a revenue to this country, the mention of which, a few days ago, he confessed excited in his mind a considerable degree of astonishment. They had secured an annual surplus revenue to the British empire of £1,500,000 sterling.

Considering, therefore, the advantages secured by the Company to the British Empire—considering how the administration of their affairs had been conducted, so as to meet with the approbation, not only of our own government, but even of foreign nations;—and considering the testimony even of those who appeared to be the enemies of the Company, all of which were in favour of the proposition he contended for, surely it would be highly impolitic for the Court to give its sanction not only as Proprietors of East-India stock, but as Englishmen, to *any* system which should tend to overturn so noble a fabric as that established by the East-India Company. For his own part, if the opening of the outports, as a measure of policy on the part of government, should be carried into execution, he was firmly persuaded that a more destructive measure could

not be resolved upon, not only as it related to the welfare of this country, but as it affected the security and the interests of the nation at large; and he was persuaded, if that measure were passed into a law, the security of India was not worth many years' purchase.—*(Hear! hear! hear!)* The Court and every man knew very well, that India was a remote part of the world. Revolutions might take place; counter-revolutions might follow; and the whole empire might be shaken to its centre, before even intelligence could be received in this country of what was passing: and the time was not very remote when this country was not a little alarmed as to the then existing state of affairs in India. We were very well assured that there was a powerful French faction in India, ready and willing to raise disaffection and foment faction; and eager to seize the first opportunity to ignite that inflammable feeling which their machinations had so industriously created. We all knew, from experience, that Buonaparte attempted to assail India, by the way of Egypt: nor was that a new idea; for he had borrowed it from Louis XIV. Now, if any commotion was to take place in India, could any man doubt that Buonaparte, as the governor of France, would be very ready to add fuel to the flame, and give

every succour in his power, either by way of Egypt or Persia? Were we not to look to such calamities? Were we not to look forward, anticipate, and provide against evils which common sense would tell us, must result from the dissolution of that unity in the Company's affairs, and that well-tempered dependance upon the British Crown? Were we not to derive wisdom from past experience, and avoid those *rocks* which had brought upon this country so many unfortunate consequences? If the trade to India —and if the government of the East-India Company was to be dissolved,—would any reasonable man hope, that an empire so large, and so distant from the mother-country, would not avail herself of the first pretext to shake off the British yoke? These, however, were not consequences that could ever be expected to follow, so long as the East-India Company was kept compact within itself;—so long as that wise system they established, could be maintained by their policy and their exertions, and so long as the Company could secure to the British government a ready and prompt allegiance to its crown and imperial dignity. It would indeed be blindness and folly if we were not to benefit a little by the dear-bought experience this country had acquired in somewhat similar occasions. For his own part,

he thought the short and simple interpretation of a request to open the trade to India was at once to deprive the India Company of all her political power; to tear asunder all those bonds by which the Empire in the East was secured to the British Crown, and, in short, to renew the old business of America. Surely, if these consequences were only to be *risked* by granting the prayer of the petitions of those who sought to encroach upon the privileges of the India Company;—if there was even only the *chance* of losing those valuable possessions, we should be equally unwise and unjust in hazarding such an experiment. It was in the memory of men now living, and, in fact, he himself knew the honourable officer who sat at the Board of Trade with himself, when the *Virginia* trade was settled, he meant General Oglethorpe. It was very well known that the trade to America for the purpose of bringing home to England the commodities of Virginia, was not carried on by British built ships, but by ships built in America. There were Virginia merchants now living who, as well as himself, remembered the whole of the Tobacco coming from Virginia in Virginia ships, and these ships were navigated, not by British seamen, but by native Americans, nor were British artificers employed in the construction of those vessels.

Now *that*, he feared, was the system that would be followed, in case of any alteration in the present trade to India; and he would venture to say, that, if the Outports were opened, if such should be the determination of the Legislature, the trade would not be carried on by the ships of those ports, but by ships built in India, manned by natives of the country, and sent to ports different from those established by Act of Parliament. But he was persuaded that these important considerations would be seriously attended to by the government of the country, and he could not believe that the Parliament of the United Kingdom would, in its wisdom, entertain a proposition so pregnant with injury to the interests of the British empire. He had been told, within a few days past, what indeed he was not ignorant of before, that the Ministers of our country, from the nature of the Constitution, were obliged to hear all parties, and to hear objections and petitions, from whatsoever quarter they came. He did not question the liberality and the justice of that proposition: on the contrary, he hoped that all parties would be heard with that patience and attention which was the characteristic of the British Legislature; but at the same time, flattering himself that the Legislature would consider this question in the point of view in which

it had been considered by this Court, he could not but be sorry that those gentlemen who had determined to leave their homes, and come up to London upon a subject of so much importance, to see their favourite measure carried into execution, had done so without considering, that the safety of the whole empire was involved in a compliance with their wishes. There were reasons which moved him to a conviction of the impolicy, and even the madness of such a measure; and being so impressed he could not content himself with a silent vote. Experience persuaded him, that if the shipping interest of India was properly attended to, so as to be connected with this country, to be manned by British seamen, and to become *British* in every respect, this country never could want a naval force amply competent to enable her to carry on the great undertakings in which she was necessarily engaged. Under such regulations they would add strength and solidity to the power of the British arms. But if these ships employed in the Indian trade were suffered to come from India to our outports with *native* seamen, the object of the measure under consideration would not be *British*, and therefore ought not to be carried into a law.—(*Hear! hear!*)—He begged pardon for having trespassed so long

upon the attention of the Court, and he besought their indulgence, not only as he felt the importance of the subject, but as he was little in the habit of public speaking. Indeed he was more indebted to their considerate feeling towards him, because this question had been argued and discussed by men of the first rate abilities—by many honourable and learned gentlemen now in his eye; and as they had said so much, and that so well, he could not flatter himself with the hope of saying any thing worthy the particular attention of the Court.—(*Hear! hear!*)—But as far as related to the great bearing of the question, his sentiments upon it were contained in a very short sentence, which was, "that he was persuaded the security of India would be lost to the mother country if any alteration was adopted in the government of Indian affairs." He would not dwell upon a more enlarged exposition of the reasons he had for entertaining such an opinion: persuaded, however, he was, that all the commercial advantages which this country enjoyed by the present system of government in India would be utterly lost; and any attempt to seek larger advantages by a more extended commerce than now held with India, would be risking the certainty of a *permanent*, for the mere chance of a *temporary* benefit. *Temporary* he called it; be-

cause he was afraid, for the reasons he had stated, the British power in that distant quarter of the world, would be lost. If a communication to India for the private merchants was opened, in proportion as that communication was widened, in the same proportion would the security of our India possessions become precarious. The reason why we owed our present security in that country to the India Company was obviously, because the communication between Great Britain and India was carried on through the Company, and because it could not be carried on by any other legal means. In that view of the question, he begged leave to say, that it was not for the Court of Proprietors to facilitate the progress of Indian *independence*, which would be the inevitable consequence if they were to lend their countenance to any alteration in the present system. They ought to guard, and *jealously* guard, against any disobedience, to the sovereignty of this country in India—they ought to be watchful of a strict obedience to the laws enacted under the protection and countenance of the British Government. If the Americans had not become a mercantile people, which gave occasion to their having a mercantile navy; and if that mercantile navy had not been turned into a *political* navy, which was done, and which nothing could pre-

vent, we should not this day have to deplore the loss of those settlements, nor would America possess that political independence which she is now able to exert against the parent country. He therefore thought that the safety of the British empire in India depended upon the East-India Company's remaining *compacted* and *united* within itself, as it had done for centuries; and he again said, that if the British legislature could consent to lay open the trade in the manner now sought by the petitioners to Parliament, they would annihilate, not only the commerce, but the politics of the British empire in India. Beside the revenue which the India Company ordinarily collected, they had a surplus revenue, notwithstanding the increasing difficulties which they had to encounter, of £1,500,000. In adddition to these advantages, they had established a nursery of seamen, which was the great bulwark of the state; and also, that they had a net revenue of £500,000 per annum. Were not these objects worthy the attention of the British legislature? Were they not too important to lose without a *struggle* at least for their security. Firmly was he persuaded, that if the government laid the *whole* of the trade open they would lose the *whole*; beside which, they would lose India in a very short time; and, for his own part, he would give but a very few years

purchase for it. It was on that principle, and not with a view to any private advantages, that the East-India Proprietors could derive from the continuance of the trade to India, that he opposed any alteration in the system. Even Mr. Adam Smith, with all his ability, could not judge of the calculations of the trade and commerce of the East-India Company with India. But *they* knew from experience what the system of affairs in India was,—*they* knew the advantages of it to the British nation; and, in the prayer of the Company's Petition to Parliament, it was only desired that the Legislature would let the system remain as it now stood, with such alterations as they in their wisdom thought proper to make, with respect to *the regulation of the trade*, without losing sight of the great object at stake. It was by no means a hazardous statement for him to make, when he asserted that the moment an alteration took place in the East-India government, from that moment that Empire would be lost to the mother country. For, in speaking of the French nation, we were all aware with what a jealous eye they looked at our extensive empire in the East; and we all knew how anxious the tyrant of France would be to participate in that glorious system established by this country in India, and acquire dominion in that valuable territory. Every one knew that "ships,

"colonies, and commerce," were what the French wanted; and he was persuaded, from the experience this country had had of the designs of that usurper, if it were possible for this country to set *toe* to *toe* with him, he would go back to his ancient limits, if we would give him a firm footing in India. It was in this point of view, therefore, that he thought this country ought to look with a jealous eye to the security of India; a measure which could only be permanently effected by the continuance of the present system of government in that country, but which, he feared, would be immediately risked by an opposite line of conduct. Could it be said that this was a matter of mere *commercial* arrangement when, in fact, it concerned the policy, the commerce, and all the real interests of the country? He affirmed that the commercial and political relations of the East-India Company were so intimately united and interwoven with each other, that it was impossible to shake the one without losing the other.—(*Hear! hear!*) The liberty he had thus taken of delivering his sentiments at so much length, he hoped would be excused. He felt that an apology was due to the Court; but he was so deeply impressed with the importance of the question, he could not help yielding to the persuasion, that he ought not to give a silent vote. There was, how-

ever, one other observation with which he would trouble the Court, because he thought it was of importance, when coupled with the more imperious arguments upon this subject. The East-India Company had a population in India, at this time, of 20,000 inhabitants. Every one who knew India, knew that a very free and unrestrained intercourse took place between the sexes. The consequence was, that the population multiplied in a surprising degree; and hence it followed, that every spring, the schools, in and round London, were filled with the youth of that country, who were brought to England to receive their education. When these young people went back, they called themselves Englishmen, and claimed all the privileges of British subjects. With such opinions and notions as these, was it too much to say, that these men, so educated, would in a little time feel themselves disposed to entertain the same sentiments as the Americans? At least, with the woeful experience we had had of the consequence of sentiments of the same kind in that country, we ought to avoid every step that might tend to realize such alarms for the safety of our East-Indian possessions—we ought to bear in prospect the example of America—and we ought, with every barrier in our power, to avert a similar catastrophe in the East. It was matter of great satisfaction

to him, that this important subject was not to be decided hastily and unadvisedly. This was not the last occasion upon which the claims of the East-India Company would be discussed; and he anticipated with confidence, that the wisdom of Parliament would not only find it *politic* but *just*, to confirm those claims to those who had so long approved themselves worthy of their trust. Viewing, therefore, with jealousy, the attempts made to counteract the calls of justice and of gratitude, he would certainly vote for the prayer of the Petition.—(*Hear! hear!*)

Mr. *Hoare* said he by no means wished to trespass upon the attention of the Court; but he submitted, under the correction of the chair, that the course of the proceedings this day was hitherto rather irregular. The Court was informed from the Chair, that the Petition adopted by the last Court had undergone some alterations. The Petition having, as he apprehended, been read for the purpose of having those alterations pointed out; but that not having been yet done, he thought the honourable Proprietor who spoke last was a little irregular in delivering his sentiments before any question was delivered from the Chair, and before the proper subject of this day's discussion was stated to the Court. He submitted, therefore, that it would have been more regular for the ho-

nourable Proprietor to have waited until the alterations were read, and the question put thereupon from the Chair.

Mr. *Abel Chapman* said he thought this was an adjourned debate.

Mr. *Hoare* suggested, that the Petition which had just been read having been discussed and approved of at the last Court, there could be no new subject of debate before the Court until the alterations were read. It would be perfectly proper for the honourable Proprietor to deliver his sentiments upon the amendments, when the question should be put; but not having been put, he would take the liberty of saying that the more regular course would be to wait for the question.

The *Chairman* said he certainly did state, as the honourable Proprietor, who spoke last, had mentioned, that there were some alterations made in the Petition since the last Court. He had now, however, to observe, that the alterations were inconsequential as to the great points in agitation, and were rather of a clerical nature. The most material one would now be read.

Mr. *Smith* (Solicitor to the Company) then stated, that the alterations made in the Petition were of a trifling nature, and that the main alteration was in that paragraph of the Petition which respected the expences of the Company in its mili-

tary operations and its forces in India. This was the only material one in the Petition.

The *Chairman* insisted, that the alteration now stated would be deemed by the Court to be an improvement in the Petition; because it stated a fact which was of considerable importance, and noted what they (the proprietors) had given up for national purposes. The question he would therefore put was, "that this alteration stand part of this Petition."

Mr. *Hume* then rose; concurring, as he certainly did, in the greatest part of the prayer of the Petition which had been just read, he should be extremely sorry to detain the Court unnecessarily on the present occasion; but as he was convinced that it would be the wish, as well of those within the bar, as of those without the bar, that a Petition of so much importance to the general interests, not only of the Company but of the public, should go from hence as perfect as it could be made, he hoped the Court would excuse him for a few moments, whilst he stated what appeared to him to require some further consideration, and which he thought might be attended with good effects if altered as he should propose. After recapitulating the history of the Company from the earliest period of its establishment down to the present moment, which he

thought was perfectly right and just, the words of the Petition were these: "That your Petitioners are ready to become parties to any arrangement which shall be consistent with the rights of your Petitioners, and the security of British India."—No words, he thought, could be more proper than those used in that part of the Petition, because it was leaving to the justice of the Legislature (which, indeed, he ventured before to suggest) every thing that might be useful and advantageous to the country, consistent with the rights of both parties. Anxious, therefore, that that should stand as part of the Petition, he begged leave to call the attention of the Court to the two subsequent paragraphs. The first* was that which the Court stated, that the only resources which

* To understand the honourable gentleman's allusion correctly, it will be necessary to quote the whole paragraph alluded to, from the Petition itself.

"Your Petitioners ask not for an *exclusive trade* upon the narrow principles of monopoly for the mere purpose of commercial gain. They have under their care interests of a more extended and liberal nature, which it is their duty to attend to. Your Petitioners are ready to become parties to any arrangements which shall be consistent with the rights of your Petitioners, and the security of British India, *and which will not deprive your Petitioners of the means of fulfilling their pecuniary engagements with the public or individuals:* or the performance of the functions which may be continued or allotted to them."

the Company could depend upon with a view of paying the interests of their debts, consisted merely of their profits in trade. Now he submitted to the consideration of the Court whether the observation of the honourable Chairman at the last meeting, "that there was a surplus revenue of one million and a half per annum, and that revenue might be expected to increase," was at all consistent with the statement in the Petition, that the resources of the Company depended only upon its profits in trade. He did not like this sort of statement, when the Court had the means of putting the matter out of all doubt; because it was calculated to mislead the world into a belief that the Company had nothing to depend upon but their profits in trade. This was certainly an objection which he would wish to have answered or obviated. The second point to which he alluded as objectionable in the Petition, and which he hoped would be altered or left out, was that paragraph wherein the Court stated, "your Petitioners submit, that they would not be justified in becoming parties to any system which, on consideration, should appear to them likely to prove an illusion." Now, he certainly expected that this would have been one of the alterations made in the Petition, but he was sorry to find that these words were still continued.

The *Chairman* here begged to state a very few words upon the subject of the objection taken to this part of the Petition by the honourable Proprietor. He believed, that with respect to those words now alluded to, the Court of Directors had no very great desire themselves to retain them in the Petition, if it should be the *wish of the Proprietors* themselves, to have them omitted. From what had passed in the Court of Directors, he believed he was warranted in saying this, but in order to their being removed he apprehended it could only be done by an expressed resolution of the Court of Proprietors.

Mr. *Hume* resumed. He said, he was extremely unwilling to detain the Court unnecessarily; but he trusted it would appear to them that the expressions used in that part of the Petition did put the Court in a very different situation from that which they ought to maintain on this important occasion; and that whatever might be the result of the investigation of the Legislature into this subject, the Court having pledged themselves to nothing, he was convinced that nothing, which they had the power to adopt as well as to reject, would be submitted to them by the Legislature. But here the Petition appeared to be begging conclusions; and he would here, by the way, take the liberty of asking, what it was the

Court meant by "their not becoming parties to any system which, upon consideration, should appear to them an illusion?" He wished to know what was that system of illusion which the Petition spoke of, and to which the Company would not become a party? Because he thought it involved a question of very great difficulty and invidious meaning, and feeling that objections might be taken to it by those who were not the friends of the Company, he would suggest the expediency of leaving it out, with a view to avoid all kinds of cavil on the part of those to whom the Petition might be referred. There was likewise another part of the Petition which he thought was at variance with the statutes, which gave the East India Company a right to their present Charter. The words of the Petition to which he alluded were these: "Your Petitioners humbly submit that it cannot be contended that any persons can have a right, except, with the consent of your Petitioners, to use the settlements, factories, and seats of trade in India, and so forth." Now, if the enactments of the 32d of Geo. II. were correct, they went to this, "that on the termination of the Company's exclusive right to trade with India, the subjects of His Majesty should have a right to trade in common with others of his subjects to India." These were the words of the

statute; and if the subjects of His Majesty were to have the right to trade in common to India after the expiration of the Company's Charter, although the right to trade exclusively was continued to the Company, still the ultimate right remained in the whole body of the British people. He therefore could not help considering that the retention of these words was impolitic, because it was advisable to obviate every possible source of adverse opinion upon this subject, when it came to be discussed elsewhere. Besides this precaution, as it respected the present objection, might be very safely taken, as it did appear to him that the words were quite unnecessary.

Another part of the Petition he thought required some explanation, and he trusted, in taking this exception to the Petition, the Court would be satisfied that his sole object in at present troubling them, was to remove all obstacles to an unanimity of sentiment upon this great question. He was not aware of any document before the public upon which it could be shewn that the statement in page 17 of the Petition, "that the net produce by trade, exclusive of all collateral objects and payments of dividends amounting to six millions and odd thousands pounds," was correct. This statement of so enormous a sum might give rise to considerable objections as to

its truth, unless it was sustained by some unquestionable documents; because, by the documents which had been laid before the public in 1810, and subsequent to that period, the nett produce of the Company's trade, exclusive of the usual deductions, did not exceed £1,535,308. Instead of the statement in the Petition being confined to any thing like that sum, the Petition roundly asserted that the nett produce of their trade is considerably upwards of £6,000 000, making the enormous surplus, over and above the last accounts laid before the public, to amount to upwards of four millions. Now, for his own part, he was unable to account for this extraordinary increase; and he should be happy to have some explanation upon the subject, unintelligible as it was at present; because he thought that whatever the Court asserted in the Petition, they ought to be prepared to prove and testify by the most satisfactory evidence. Now with a view of shewing how necessary it was for the Court to be on its guard against stating what it would not be able to prove, he would take the liberty of producing part of the VIIIth Report, which had been published a few days before; he meant the Report of the Secret Committee of Correspondence. It was not now necessary for him to enter into a particular investigation of the contents of

that report, or to point out those facts stated in it, which he conceived could not be supported; but he would take *one fact* as an instance, to shew the propriety of the observation he had made, which he was convinced the Court would admit as a fact that was extremely strong. The circumstance he alluded to was contained under the third head of objections which had been made against the Renewal of the Company's Charter. The Committee had stated, under the third head of those objections, "that, notwithstanding the increase of the Company's territories, their trade has decreased, though protected from enemies and hostile rivalry." In answer to this, the Company had declared in the same Report, "that it was not true that their commerce had decreased, although their sales had fallen off in some years by the exclusion of British commerce from the European continent." Now this denial on the part of the Company was a direct contradiction to the Petitions before the House of Commons, and it would be highly incumbent on the Company that this fact should be cleared up by unquestionable evidence; but he was afraid that the facts were in direct opposition to the Report of the Secret Committee; for if he took the account of the returns for the last seventeen years of the prime cost of East-India

goods sent to England, and divided that period into two parts; it would be found on a comparison of the first period and the last, including the intermediate years, that a vast decrease appeared in the trade of the Company. The hon. Proprietor here contrasted the accounts of the two periods, from which, he said it appeared, that, during the last eight years, a decrease of *three millions and upwards* had taken place in the trade of the Company, and that it was very little short of half a million per annum during that period. Now, he said, the object of his noticing this was for the purpose of shewing the necessity of accuracy on the part of the Court, and the folly of stating any items in their Petition and of sending forth any fact to the world that they should not be able to prove. Therefore if the reports furnished upon this subject proved the fact he now stated (and certainly he had no reason to disbelieve the statement so made); if it was clear that, during the period of the last eight years, there was an annual decrease in the Company's trade of £500,000, he submitted, whether the Committee, in giving this fact to the world, acted prudently in drawing the attention of the public to a point unsupported by evidence, which could only submit their Petition to the cavils of those who might be naturally expected

to throw obstacles by every mode they could, in the way of the Company's Petition. But thinking that the Committee must have taken into their view the Indian and China trade together, he naturally adverted to the prime cost of the Indian goods and the Chinese goods, during the same two periods. He thereby found that upon a contrast between those two periods, there was an increase of one million and odd thousand pounds in the amount of the Chinese goods at prime cost, beyond what the state of that trade was during the first eight years; and if he deducted that from the *decrease* of the Bengal trade, during the last eight years, he would find that there was a difference of somewhere about two million six hundred thousand and odd hundred pounds, being an annual decrease of about £300,000. He noticed these points with a view of shewing how necessary it was that the Court should be prepared to shew the statement of the fact in their Petition, that the increase of the trade amounted to upwards of £6,000,000 was well founded in truth. They should be prepared to sustain a statement of this kind by satisfactory evidence, but he was not aware of any documents before the public which warranted such an assertion; and if the Court could not prove that the statement was correct, he should beg leave to

move that the item in question should be left out of the petition; and that there should be substituted in its stead, a mere *general* statement, "that there had been profit," without pledging the Court to any specific sum. This he suggested simply for the purpose of avoiding any objection that might be taken, by those who were not friends to the Company, to this point, and that the Company might not commit themselves in the public estimation.

Having thus trespassed so long upon the time of the Court, he should trouble them with few farther observations. He was anxious to answer some objections of the honourable Proprietor who first spoke; and he hoped the Court would excuse him for a few moments whilst he called their attention to those objections. He was the more desirous of doing so because the subject before the Court was of the greatest importance; and, as it involved a great variety of considerations, it could not be too fully discussed before the Petition went into the world. It seemed to him, the honourable Proprietor's motive for deciding upon this question was rather an extraordinary one. If he remembered correctly, his declaration was, "that such was his veneration for the system and establishments in India, that he was unwilling to meddle with, or touch a single brick in any

part of the building, even if the change was to be effected with advantage—he was against all changes whatsoever."

Mr. *Abel Chapman* begged pardon for interrupting the honourable gentleman; but he must excuse him if he denied having said any such thing as that now imputed to him.

Mr. *Hume* resumed:—The honourable gentleman's words were these: "He was averse to all kinds of changes; and that he would not give any permission to any alteration in the present establishment of the East India Company."

Now, he would submit to the Court, whether they would adopt a proposition which signified, that whatever might be the situation of the establishments of the East-India Company—however imperfect it might become, either from the effects of time or the natural degeneracy to which all human institutions were subject; still, no changes were to be effected, whatever advantage they might produce, even to the concerns of the Company themselves. Surely this was so unreasonable a doctrine, that it was impossible it could be seriously entertained in a discussion of this nature. There was no institution of human erection free from some kind of imperfection; and in which there was not always room for amendment, however perfect it might be. But to hold out

that no alterations or amendments could be safely made in the present institution, would be to contend that error and imperfection ought to become the objects of our veneration.

Another point of the honourable Proprietor's speech he must also object to; namely, his observations with respect to the Indian seas. He professed he could not conceive upon what principle an honourable gentleman in this Court could object to the system upon which the communication was kept up between this Country and America previous to the secession of that country from the British Crown. He had not now with him the authority upon which he replied to the statement of the honourable Proprietor; but he would find that the commerce and navigation carried on between the American colonies and this counrry before that period, were carried on by ships belonging to America, and manned by American seamen, and not at all by English ships manned with English seamen. However, he thought it necessary to notice the honourable gentleman's observation, for the purpose of shewing, that whilst Great Britain at this moment was using every exertion to man her navy, and to supply her fleets with the necessary complement of men, the honourable gentleman made use of an argument which was incompatible with the security and

advantage of that country, he was so solicitous should derive benefit from her intercourse with her East-Indian colonies. It certainly did appear strange to him that the honourable gentleman should propose that the Indian fleets should be navigated by British seamen at a time when the supply of sailors was by no means commensurate with our wants. For his own part, he no necessity of employing British seamen in carrying home the East-Indian commerce during a time of war and a scarcity of seamen, when the subjects and the inhabitants of India could equally serve the purposes of the Company; he was to consider that the great advantage which the India Company was to derive through the medium of its Charter, sprung from its commerce; and he really did not see what difference it could make to them whether their ships were navigated by native Indians or British seamen, provided they could get their cargoes home. He should be sorry to think that this country could be excluded from the use of her own subjects, and be compelled, as she certainly would be in that case, to employ subjects of a hostile power. But the fact really was, that a very small portion indeed of British seamen were employed in navigating the Indian fleets. The greater part of their crews being made up of native Indians and foreign sea-

men; which, however, never could be the case, were we not obliged, from necessity, to employ our own subjects in more important occupations. Before he sat down, he would propose to the Court an amendment, which he hoped some honourable gentleman would do him the favour to second, which was,—to leave out those words to which he had, in the beginning of his speech, called the attention of the Court; and if the Court was not able to explain the amount of the six millions' odd hundred thousand pounds, stated in the Petition to be the profit of the Company's trade, he should likewise move, that that sum should be left out, and a mere general statement of profit substituted in its stead. For the present he was unwilling to trouble the Court any longer; and he would only request the question to be put from the Chair upon his amendments.

The *Chairman* begged to be informed by the honourable Proprietor, whether he (the Chairman) properly collected his amendments, which he now proposed to stand as follows:—In page 17 of the Petition, instead of the amount of profits being stated at £6,289,405, it should be generally stated, "*Profit.*" Secondly, in page 20 of the Petition, the following words should be left out:—"Your petitioners submit, that they would not be justified in becoming parties to any

system which, on consideration, would be likely to prove an illusion:" and thirdly, in the 22d page of the Petition, to leave out the words, "Your petitioners submit, that it cannot be contended that any persons can have a right, except with the consent of your petitioners, to use the settlements, factories or seats of trade, &c." These, he understood, were the only amendments the honourable Proprietor wished to have made in the Petition. However, he should inform the honourable gentleman that, in the first instance, in point of form, he should move his first resolution.

Mr. *Hume* said the Chairman had stated his objections very correctly; and he concluded by moving that the words to which he objected in the 20th page should be left out.

The *Chairman* said he understood that that was the honourable gentleman's *second* resolution, and not his *first*.

Mr. *Hume* said he would wish it to stand as his *first*.

Mr. *Abel Chapman*, in explanation to the observations of the honourable gentleman who spoke last, said he had to regret that the honourable Proprietor should have so far mistaken what he (Mr. Chapman) had said, as to suppose that he meant to contend that any system should be so perfect as not to require emendation, or be

open to inquiry on the part of those who might suppose there was room for improvement. So far was he from entertaining such an opinion, that he admitted the Gothic superstructure of the constitution of England itself, perfect as it was in all its parts (and indeed so perfect did he think it to be, that he was of opinion it merely required due attention to be paid to its operations and movements to make it the most perfect system of government it was possible for human wisdom to invent), was open to amendment and improvement. He was not so sanguine in his views of that constitution as to suppose that the system was so perfect that no alteration whatever could could be made in it with advantage at no time nor season; nor did he contend that the system of administration of the Company's affairs in India was so perfect as not to be open to alteration and improvement. The Company were now going to Parliament with a Petition to have their Charter renewed. Many alterations might be made suitable, but not inconsistent with the system of administration established in India. No man, he believed, who knew any thing of human institutions, could suppose that the constitution of the Company was so complete in all its parts as not to admit of alteration and improvement; but the question was, whether the alterations sought

by the petitioners of Parliament against the Company would not, instead of improving, utterly annihilate the British power in India. He admitted that, by some regulations which the wisdom of Parliament might suggest with a view to open the trade to private merchants, might be attended with advantage. Regulations might be adopted of this nature, which might do no serious harm to the interests of the Company; but he would go the length of saying, that the constitution of the India Company could not with safety be altered. Now, with respect to the honourable Proprietor's observations touching the carrying-trade between America and England, that was a subject upon which he happened to be very familiar, having been in America, and having had an opportunity of observing that branch of commerce at the period of which he spoke.

Mr. *Hume* here attempted to interpose and explain the ground upon which he had objected to the honourable gentleman's observations; but was called to order by the Chairman, who requested that the honourable gentleman, who was in possession of the Court, might be suffered to continue his explanation.

Mr. *Chapman* then resumed his explanation.—He said that so far as related to America, he had to observe that when the commerce and trade of

this country to America was opened to the out-ports, it was thought that the commerce would be attended with very great advantage to England: but the consequence of that measure was that the commerce which had been hitherto carried on in British bottoms was carried on in American built ships manned by American people; the effect of which was, that the Americans became the carriers between the two countries. He would take the liberty of stating, that he now knew an elderly gentleman living in London, and who was a Virginia merchant at the time the trade to Virginia was carried on in British bottoms, and he was positively assured from that gentleman—indeed he knew it from other very good authority, that when that trade was opened the whole advantage of it accrued to the American people. Great Britain beheld in the event of the fatal American war the consequence of that policy. America, by being thus suffered to become the carriers to England, built a powerful shipping, which from a commercial navy was afterwards converted into a political navy. Feeling so strongly as he did upon this subject, he would not hesitate to say, that the same consequences that took place in America would ensue in India if the trade was opened to the outports into the Indian seas. The same symptoms which

indicated a separation between America and England would surely follow such a step with respect to India. By opening the trade to the outports, ships of great force would be built in India, which upon an emergency could be converted into a political navy and applied to the purposes, which he feared would be engendered in the minds of those who felt themselves so far from home and out of the reach of controul from the mother country. This was by no means a chimerical notion; for, he would ask, was there any thing different in the feelings and sentiments of human nature in the East from what they were in the West? Suppose a similar disposition broke out in India, to that which finally triumphed in America, how was it possible for this country with the utmost efforts of her strength to repress insurrection and revolutionary tumult in a quarter of the world so distant from Europe? Did not the history of man, in all ages, times and countries, shew that he was fond of power and would use it, if he could by any possibility attain the object of his wishes? He hesitated not to the clare, that the moment there was a free and open commerce between England and India, a pretence would be sought to shake off the power of the mother country; and he predicted with confidence that those ships which were built for

commercial purposes, would be converted into ships of war. But he could not suppose that the foresight of Parliament could be so blinded as not to consider these important views of the question and not adopt such remedies as would put out of question the identity of India with the power of the British empire.

He requested pardon for having trespassed at such length in explanation; and threw himself on the indulgent consideration of the Court. *(Hear! hear! hear!)*

The *Chairman* begged to attract the attention of the Court to the hon. gentleman's (Mr. Hume) objection, which formed the subject of his present amendment. "I shall," said he, "confine myself to one observation on the point now under the consideration of the Court; namely to the amendment of the hon. gentleman, whose speech of this day, is entitled to the respect of every body present. The hon. gentleman proposes that we should omit (I am not exactly correct perhaps in reciting the precise words), "we are not justified in becoming parties to any system (mark what follows) which, *upon consideration*, should appear to the petitioners likely to prove an illusion."—If I thought there was any thing repugnant in this declaration—any thing that manifested a disposition on the part of the Directors and of

this Court;—any thing hostile to an agreement with the Ministers of government—any thing which could throw an impediment in the way of a liberal view of this question, or thwart an investigation into the Company's claims, I should be of opinion that those words ought to be disclaimed; but it appears to me that there is something *conciliatory* rather than *hostile* in the expressions, because, in my judgment, they manifest a disposition to meet the Ministers as far as they can be met upon principles consistent with the security of this establishment: and therefore when the Directors or when the Company came to the resolution of stating, "that they will not consent to become parties to any thing that appears like an illusion," they appear to me merely to assert that which they think to be correct. If the Court of Directors and of Proprietors think this *is* an illusion, why are they by a total silence to imply that it *is not*? when this matter becomes the subject of explanation, it will be then time enough for the Company to state wherein what they think the illusion consists, and why they will not consent to become a party to any measure which, upon consideration, shall appear to promote it. These are the simple grounds upon which it does appear to me, the proposition of the hon. gentleman can be main-

tained; I am not aware that the hon. gentleman's amendment has yet been seconded.

Mr. *Rock* begged pardon for not having before this time seconded the motion of Mr. Hume, which he would have done as soon as it had been made by that hon. gentleman, but for the obtrusion of other objects upon the attention of the Court. He would now however second the motion, because he thought he saw a disposition on the other side of the bar, to retain words in the Petition, which might subject the claims of the Company to cavil and objection, from a quarter perhaps the most fatal to their views. He conjured the Court to recollect that they were going to Parliament in opposition to the declaration to His Majesty's Ministers. It would be advisable therefore for the Court if possible to come to an unanimous resolution upon this subject. If the words now proposed to be left out of the Petition by the hon. mover, were still to be retained, notwithstanding what the Court had heard in objection to them; he, for one, must conscientiously refuse his assent to the Petition altogether; for he would never agree in a Petition to Parliament, which contained a determination on the part of the Company, of the nature now pointed out, nor would he give his voice in favor of a proposition to continue the government of

India in its present form, if he thought there was any disposition in the Company, to reject all propositions for opening the India trade to the Outports. Besides this objection to the Petition, he would venture to state, that some of the allegations contained in it had not been proved. He alluded to the declaration upon the subject of the state of the Company's trade. It was not made out upon satisfactory evidence that the Company were carrying on the trade to the extent averred in the Petition. However, with respect to the other objection, unless the words alluded to were left out he should feel himself obliged to give his negative to the Petition.—He saw no reason for keeping them in, as the Chairman had said they were of no importance.

Mr. *Parnther* said, that if he thought there was any thing contained in the Petition, which was calculated to interrupt the unanimity which, for every reason, ought to prevail in the opinions of the Court, he should not be disposed to oppose the amendment now proposed by the honorable gentleman. But if he conceived the real meaning of the words to be that which he understood the honorable gentleman had put upon them, namely—should government establish something contrary to those words, the Company, therefore,

were not to go on with the government of affairs in India; most undoubtedly he should be for excluding the proposition from the Petition; but he understood, the declaration conveyed in those words, meant only, that they would not be privy, or become parties in any way whatever, to the institution of a system, which they thought would turn out to be an illusion. If they had so explicitly declared their opinion, and if government chose to institute another system, was there any thing in those words which made it inconsistent with the duty of this Court to become the supporters of that system, if Parliament thought it right to form a new one; or such as should be different from that by which India was at present governed? If the system offered was a bad one, doubtless the Company must make the best of it; but, if they thought that system so bad as to be completely inadmissible, he would submit that the Court was perfectly justified in making such a declaration; but that declaration did not necessarily infer that the Court would not accede to the terms proposed by Parliament. Viewing, therefore, the words in that sense, he thought they ought to stand in the Petition unaltered.—*(Hear! hear! hear!)* He could not help saying, that if there was any thing which

could make that opinion stronger in his mind, it was because there was nothing contained in the Petition which was not the opinion of the most enlightened men; and he would venture to say, that there was nothing in that opinion which would not do honour and add greater dignity to that situation in which those enlightened men were placed. The subject could not have been placed in better hands, because it came from those who were thoroughly acquainted with the whole system and the whole policy of affairs in British India; and considering that declaration as coming from the clearest conviction, and the most solemn argument, "that it would be an illusion," he could not but feel that it was highly important those words should be retained. He gave them credit for that declaration; and in so doing, he thought it would be highly improper and indeed preposterous, that the declaration of those men, who had the best means of forming a conclusion upon the subject, should be excluded from the Petition to Parliament. He therefore, for one, should vote for the continuance of the words.

The *Chairman* again addressed the Court. He said the hon. gentleman who had seconded the motion, had alluded to what he observed early in

the debate. Certainly he did state that the words were of no very great importance; but as they had been placed in, the Court of Directors did not think they ought to be left out; without the sentiments of the Court of Proprietors expressed their dissent to them. The words objected to were these: "Your petitioners submit that they would not be justified in becoming parties to any system, which, *on consideration*, should appear to them likely to prove an illusion."

Now, by these words, he submitted, the Company had left an opportunity open for the most ample discussion of their affairs; and they had also left themselves free to adopt any measure which did not appear to be inconsistent with their interests. By these words the Company were bound to nothing: and he would ask the hon. gentlemen who moved for leaving them out, whether they would have the Company become parties to any system which they were convinced, after fair consideration, would prove illusive? He hoped not. He thought it necessary for his own justification, and for the justification of the Court, to express his sentiments; and he begged pardon for having again obtruded himself on their attention.

Mr. *Rock* said he certainly wished the Court

to be unanimous in their Petition: and nothing would be more desirable to him than the exclusion of every thing which might give rise to a difference of opinion. He wished, therefore, to understand what the Court alluded to, when it said it would not become a party to any system which they thought an illusion? What system was it?—what was the system they conceived to be illusory?

Sir *Theophilus Metcalfe* said, that in consequence of the conduct of the honorable Proprietor, who spoke last, he could have expected no less than the line of conduct he was pleased to adopt this day. With respect to the words proposed to be left out, by that honourable Proprietor (Mr. Hume) he had thought that they were of so little importance that if the objection to them had originated in any other quarter than that from which the opposition now came, he could not conceive that the Company would have any objection to leave them out: but when the Court considered that the hon. Proprietor had displayed remarkable talents and abilities on this great question, and that he had stood forward with a degree of singularity upon this subject; that he seemed disposed to question every statement of the Company's affairs; that he was always ready to occupy the time of the

Court in reading papers, and raising difficulties, he did not think it very regular now for the hon. gentleman after so many opportunities of discussing the Petition, to find fault with its construction. and hence, he said, the Court would not be surprized if, upon all these considerations, he should think the hon. gentleman's objection so little deserving consideration. Every man must confess the difficulty of framing a Petition so as to bear the scrutinizing examination to which that honorable Proprietor wished to subject this. It could not be expected that any Petition, however free from exception, would meet the ideas of every man. The most that could be expected was, that a general Petition should be drawn up and submitted to the Court of Proprietors for them to judge of its merits. Such a Petition had been drawn up and submitted to the Proprietors, who were all pleased to approve it, with the exception of one individual; and he thought it would be admitted to him that the fair sense of the Court had been taken upon the subject.—*(Hear! hear! hear!)* But yet that honourable gentleman expressed the great anxiety he felt for unanimity upon this question. The Court however would judge of the sincerity of his feelings by the amendment he had submitted.

He confessed himself to feel a difficulty in rising to address this Court upon a subject that had already elicited so much ability, and called forth so much sound argument; because it might appear that he could produce nothing new upon a question which seemed entirely exhausted: but he assured the Court, that if it had not been for the opposition this petition had met in its present stage, and the mode in which that opposition was manifested, he should not have at all trespassed upon the attention of the Court. But as he had risen, he certainly should not abuse their indulgence by any lengthened obtrusion upon their notice.

The honourable gentleman (Mr. Hume) must excuse him if he was no friend to the composition that had been just published under his sanction, when he observed that honourable gentleman, upon every occasion, to oppose everything he could in the way of the Company's views: and when he recollected the tenor of all his speeches, he thought he might safely look upon him, not in the light of a friend to the interests of the Company. He did, however, hope for better things from him: and that when he got rid of that zeal which now seemed to warp his judgment, he would become a friend instead of an enemy. He made no doubt that his sentiments and opinions upon this subject would

change; and that the Company would, ere long, find him a faithful and worthy member of their body. It was true, that the honourable member had not been long amongst them, and it would scarcely be expected that he would enter into the spirit of this subject with the same warmth as the old and approved friends of the Company. Seldom was it found that new converts, either in matters of religion or systems of opinion, were very zealous in pursuing them at first; because they still retained a natural tendency to early impressions. The time, however, would come, he hoped, when he would adopt sentiments less adverse to the interests of his Country, and the advantage of this Company.

It had been reported, and the idea very widely circulated, that the India Company and the Ministers, on account of some difference of opinion between them, were, at this moment, in open and violent hostility towards each other. Now such a report every one must see could answer no good purpose, and might be attended with very bad consequences: and because he anticipated that a very unfair use would be made of such a report, he thought it necessary to give a public denial of it, which he now did, by declaring that it was not the fact. He would appeal for the truth of this denial to the Chairman, and to the gentlemen

who were members of the deputation to Government, whether the conversation which they had had with the Minister was not of the most respectful and conciliatory nature, and whether every civility and polite attention was not shewn, that could be manifested, towards persons in their high and responsible situation? This was a fact which they must all allow; and it would be bad policy indeed, if, in a question which involved so much of their interest, and which was so nearly connected with the affairs of the public, to enter into any thing like an acrimonious discussion upon a question so ably, and with so much temper, argued in that room. On the occasion he alluded to, not a violent expression, nor an intemperate word, escaped from either side upon the subject. His attention had been drawn to this matter in consequence of the unfounded rumours abroad upon the subject, and he was glad of the opportunity to declare that there was not the slightest pretence for the report in circulation. Every one must allow that the Minister had a public duty to perform, as well as a private one; and as a part of the administration with which he was connected, he had a right to form such an opinion as the report of the case of the East India Company required. For his own part, he thought, that if the Ministers were open to

conviction by the most solid arguments, and the soundest reasoning; those reasons and those arguments would be found in this Petition, and they would not suffer themselves to be led into error and mistake upon this great question by the gross misrepresentations of revolutionary and designing men. He made no doubt, that when the Company's Petition came fairly under the consideration of the Legislature, and when the matter came before both Houses of Parliament, they would see the wisdom of continuing that system, which the most profound statesmen, from the reign of Queen Anne till now, had adopted and encouraged. They would recognise, with approbation, the maxim of those statesmen, "that it was impossible our East India possessions could be advantageous to the mother country, unless the intercourse was carried on through the medium of what was vulgarly called—a *monopoly.*" Such was the maxim, such the opinion of the most illustrious statesmen this country ever saw. But that vulgar notion, which had obtained, as to the import of the word monopoly, he was not surprised at, when he considered that those who affected to be very conversant in East India affairs did not understand the true meaning of the word, as applicable to the Company. The word *monopoly* was an invidious term, and perhaps a

just object of jealousy, if it was to be taken in the sense it was vulgarly used. But that interpretation of it in the present case was inadmissible, because all it meant was *protection*—(*Hear! hear!*)——*That* was the distinction to be taken when the word was applied to the East-India Company; but he hoped, when these points came to be considered with fairness and impartiality, the Minister would follow the example and sound policy of his predecessors; and instead of granting the object sought by the enemies of the Company, their agents, and their advocates, whose wish, it seemed, was to ruin and destroy the British empire in India, they would adopt a different line of conduct, and reject those counsels and suggestions which, if adopted, would be destruction and fatal to the power of this Country in India.

Whilst he was up, he hoped the Court would excuse him if he occupied their time a little longer, to remark upon a circumstance which happened some years since. When Mr. Fox succeeded Mr. Pitt in power, it was expected that a statesman, who had hitherto differed from Mr. Pitt in every political question brought before the Legislature, would carry with him into office feelings of hostility towards the East-India Company, who were much indebted to the discernment and counte-

nance of Mr. Pitt. But the fears thus entertained were dissipated early; for Mr. Fox, as soon as he came into power, entered into all the doctrines, and expounded all the opinions of that great statesman upon this question. The reason he (Sir Theophilus Metcalfe) drew this fact under the consideration of the Court was to notice the very remarkable fact, that these two great statesmen, (for great indeed they were) hardly ever concurred upon any one point of politics, yet united in sentiment upon this question, and agreed unequivocally that the East India Company must remain unmolested in the enjoyment of their privileges. This was, indeed, a strong fact. Here were two illustrious statesmen who were not only the luminaries of their time, but the luminaries of British history; men who might be said to divide their opinion upon almost every subject they spoke, and who were hardly ever known to agree with each other. Still these two men concurred on this one point; and it was remarked at the time, that they complimented each other on the progress made in their sentiments towards unanimity. Surely, then, when men like these held it as a leading feature of their politics, that the commerce of the Company was to be held sacred, and was not to be touched, was it to be endured, that their rights were to be wrested

from them by the advocates from Liverpool, from Bristol, or by any other set of men whatever?

With these precedents in view, he would not be so unjust to the Minister of the present day, as to suppose him capable of thinking a measure of this kind was more advisable or more just now than it was at the period when those great statesmen lived. When this momentous question came to be fully and fairly discussed, he did hope with confidence to find that the Ministers of the present day did not think differently from their great predecessors. If there was any one Minister from whom the East-India Company had a right to expect a greater opposition to their claims, it was from Mr. Fox, for reasons too obvious to render a detail of them necessary; and, when *he* came into power, it was predicted by persons now within these walls, that in all probability the affairs of the East-India Company would languish under the influence of his counsels. The contrary, however, was the fact; for from the moment he took his seat on the Treasury bench, he espoused the cause with as much warmth, and became their advocate with as much zeal as ever Mr. Dundas did, who was supposed to be the Minister most favourable to their views that ever sat in the cabinet. Mr. Fox's expression in the

House of Commons was, "The East-India Company *must* be supported." This was a strong declaration, when it was recollected from what quarter it came. Mr. Fox was satisfied of the policy as well as the prudence in supporting the Company with all the authority of Parliamentary sanction. For his own part, he was afraid that those persons who demanded so loudly an open trade to India little understood their own interests; and being mistaken in their own views, it was not surprising that they were blind to the interests of their Country. He had considered this subject patiently, deliberately, impartially, and with no narrow nor selfish view. The result of his attention to it was, a firm conviction that the compliance with all the demands of the petitioners to open the Outports, would bring the East-India Company to ruin; and the ruin of the Company at home would inevitably ruin all their settlements abroad. If they were ruined at home, the undoubted and inevitable consequence would be the loss of the Indian empire. But admitting, for the sake of argument, that the trade was *partially* opened; for it might be said, that it was not meant to throw the trade open to all descriptions of persons, but merely to a limited number of the Outports; would it not follow, he would ask, if such were allowed to be the case, that the

clamour would be ten times greater than that which was raised against what is called *East-India monopoly*. Would not those ports which were not admitted to the same privileges say, in that case—"Here is an instance of gross partiality: *those* ports can have no better right to the privileges than we have?" They would say, and they would justly say, that this was an instance of the grossest partiality, because it would be holding forth a pretended alleviation of the pressure of the times, without giving to those who would be equally affected with that pressure the same opportunity of relief, while the Company itself would be as much affected as if *all* the Outports were open. He certainly felt unanimity to be a very essential object to attain, because he was sure that the Ministers were not by any means their enemies. *They* had a very difficult card to play; and whatever line they took, they must expect to meet with opposition. It was true, the Company had resolved upon a Petition, certainly couched in very firm language—a Petition which gave a very just picture of the state of the Company, and its claims upon the justice of the Country; but he was sorry to observe, that amongst a vast number of Proprietors out of doors, a degree of unaccountable apathy was manifest upon this question; and he was astonished, when he con-

sidered the number of Proprietors extended over the United Kingdom, so much indifference should be evinced to their own interest, as well as to the interest of their country. He only wished, however, that it could be ascertained who were the friends and who their enemies, in order that they might guard themselves against the designs of seeming friends. It had been contended, that the East India Company had merely Claims, but no Right, in this question. He was not prepared to go into the latter part of the objection; but Claims the Company certainly had, and those Claims founded upon such firm grounds, that no sophistry, no argument could divest the Company of them; and whatever might be the apathy in those to whom he was compelled to allude, he besought every Proprietor present to consider himself as the identical man upon whom depended the safety of the Company.—(*Hear! hear! hear!*) He had very little doubt in his mind that Parliament itself, whenever it came to consider the question, would view it upon general and liberal grounds of policy, and not upon principles of prejudice or partial benefit. He was persuaded that whenever they did come to decide upon the question, they would resolve that a system ought not to be abandoned which had extended the British power in India, in-

creased the revenue of the mother country, extended her traffic over the Indian empire, and brought great wealth and other substantial benefits, not only to her Capital, but to her whole United Kingdom. He trusted the Court would agree with him, that such a system ought not to be abandoned slightly; but he hoped that many days would not elapse, ere this question would be determined by the Legislature in such a way as would confirm the claims of the Company upon the Legislature; and as would give a lasting security to the British empire and her valuable interests in that distant part of the world.

The *Deputy Chairman* (Mr. Thornton) said, he once thought it would be of very little importance whether those words complained of by the honourable gentleman were or were not adopted in the Petition. He acknowledged his having stated to an honourable and most respectable Proprietor in the Court, that if there was a difference of opinion upon the question, and that honourable gentleman thought proper to move that those words should be left out, he was convinced there would be no objection, because he (Mr. Thornton) considered them to be immaterial, and, like many other sentences in the same Petition, might safely be left out, or safely kept in; but from the manner in which it was proposed to expunge

them—from the quarter which proposed it—from the honourable gentleman's opportunities of discussing this question before—from all his observations, and, particularly, when he placed this objection in the front of his observations—when he delayed another for the mere purpose of forcing *this* into the foremost rank, he could not help thinking that the honourable gentleman's amendment ought not to be adopted—and when he considered that, by expunging these words, the *true* meaning and interpretation of them might be wrested out of doors, it was no wonder that what he once thought to be wholly uninteresting should now become matter of real consequence and serious import; and it behoved the Court to be cautious in every step they took, in every word they blotted—for even the wisest minds might be swayed and misled by the representations that could be artfully and ingeniously laid before the public as the reasons for expunging them. The Court of Directors had a great responsibility upon their hands. They were bound, if the public themselves were blind to their own interests, to give that warning—to light up that beacon which those words assumed. If the object, sought now by so much clamour and noise by those gentlemen from the Outports, was granted, he would venture to predict, that those

misguided and deluded men, in the space of three or four years, who had sacrificed their fortunes on such destructive speculations, might come, with some appearance of justice, to the Courts of Directors and Proprietors, and say, "Why did you not hold out this warning? You knew the danger—you must have anticipated the event—why did you suffer us to be deceived by this specious illusion? With the candour, the honour, the humanity of British merchants and fellow-subjects, why did you not press it upon us, that we were eagerly rushing on to our own ruin?"—(*Hear! hear!*) This, he submitted, would be the consequence *now*, in particular, if these words were taken out of the Petition. These deluded men would be almost justified in goading the Company with such a complaint, if these words were not only not kept in, but if they were not strongly marked in the Petition; they were introduced for the purpose of shewing that the Company would not make themselves a party to a public delusion; they must now be maintained to proclaim publicly, that whatever may be the opinion of an individual, the rest of the Company continued to deprecate the illusion. Ought not those gentlemen from Liverpool, who, by their own petition, acknowledged that they might be ruined in many cases, which opinion Lord Buckinghamshire him-

self held in his letter to the Court; for he acknowledged in that letter that there might be a partial ruin—ought not, then, these men to be grateful for the warning declaration of the Company? Mr. Thornton himself thought the ruin would not be so partial as his Lordship represented, but *general;* and indeed many of the other petitions glanced at the very same apprehensions. It was for their sakes—it was for their safety that the words should be retained. To expunge them now, after they had been so animadverted upon, would be in some measure to countenance the illusion by an act of their own. They would actually make themselves parties to that delusive experiment which those unfortunate petitioners, as well as themselves, would have every reason to deplore.—(*Hear! hear!*)

The allusion of his honourable friend, who spoke last, to the opinions of certain great statesmen, had put him in mind of another great statesman's declaration upon this important subject. He recollected it well; it was deeply imprinted on his memory. The late Lord Melville, speaking of the advantages and disadvantages of a change in the system of affairs in India, and particularly pointing out the impolicy of an alteration in that system, said, "that substantial and permanent benefits ought not to be sacrificed

to occasional, and perhaps delusory schemes of gain." These delusory schemes of gain were those now in question. They were what the words in the Petition alluded to; and he sincerely hoped that as a caution to such as were likely to be deluded, they would stand, what the hon. objector had himself unintentionally drawn them forward to be—the prominent features of the Petition. *(Hear! hear! hear!)*

Mr. *Grant* said that as he was under the necessity of attending some pressing Parliamentary duties in the House of Commons, he should take the liberty shortly to address the Court. And he trusted he should be allowed to trespass on their attention. He meant to reply to what had fallen from the hon. Proprietor who began this discussion, and who called upon the Court to leave the words alluded to out of their petition. He would also avail himself of this opportunity to answer another hon. Proprietor (Mr Rock) who asked him what was the meaning of this *illusion* talked of in the Petition?—To that hon. Proprietor's question he would first direct his attention: and tell him that the Directors of the East-India Company considered *the opening of the trade to India* as an *illusion;* they considered it to be an illusion on the part of the merchants, and they considered it as some sort of illusion on the part

of the government; considering it in respect to India and to China it must be called an illusion in a double sense. The Directors used the words in their petition without meaning to give offense either to government or to any persons to whom their observation might apply. If it was the intention of the Court to reject *all* plans offered to them, and if such were the import of the words objected to by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Hume), he would have a right to suggest such an alteration in the Petition, as had been proposed by him: but if any plan was to be proposed or adopted, which, after the best sense of the Court that could be taken, should seem to them to be wholly inconsistent with their interests, and which they would wish to deprecate as unworthy their sanction, they would have a right to declare that they would not become parties to any measure which should deprive them of the means, and the power in their hands. The sense of the Court had been already taken upon this part of the Petition, and the hon. gentleman having had so many opportunities of objecting to it before, it was now too late to say that it ought to be excluded, just at the time when the Petition was brought before the Court for final approbation. But considering that there was no foundation for the hon. gentleman's objection, he, for one,

should agree with the question for continuing the words.

He trusted he might be permitted to say a few words on the observation of the hon. gentleman with respect to the other proposed alteration in the Petition. He (Mr. Hume) had stated that the sum of £6,289,405 alledged to be the surplus profits of the Company was not satisfactorily made out, that the Company was mistaken in the amount of those profits, and that the fact was wholly erroneous. Now the hon. gentleman was, himself, entirely mistaken in his views of the subject, because he had taken the amount of the Company's *import* trade, instead of *export*: and if it had been so mentioned in the Petition as matter of import, the £6,289,405 would have been found in the documents given to the public, before even the suggestion of the hon. gentleman for an alteration in the Petition, and there would have been no occasion to state that which was open to examination. The hon. gentleman had argued from false premises, because if he had examined the accounts before the Proprietors touching the scale of the Company's income, he would have found himself perfectly convinced of the truth of the statement in the Petition: but the hon. gentleman seemed in his calculations upon this question to go rather upon the matter

averred in the petitions against the renewal of the Company's Charter than the Petition laid before the Proprietors. Now, what was the argument of the merchants claiming to be admitted to a participation in the trade to India?—they said that the increase of the Company's territory since 1792, instead of producing a proportionate increase of their trade, occasioned in fact a decrease. The territory of the East-India Company had been increasing before the year 1792, and therefore the Court was to understand the meaning of those merchants to be, that while the Company had increased their territory, their trade had decreased. This argument he acknowledged could not be answered by mere statement or assertion. But there was a far better answer to it to be found in the Report made by the Company upon this subject; and there it appeared clearly that this assertion was wholly unfounded in truth; because in the year 1793, and since that time, instead of there being a *decrease* in the trade there was a manifest *increase*. This was matter of reference and did not depend upon mere oral statement. At present without going farther into the subject, he was convinced there was no reason whatever for making any alteration in the Petition.

He would only farther observe that the ques-

tion was of such vast importance that it ought not to be delayed in its decision by questions certainly of very great importance, but which could not be considered at the same time with the subject of the Company's Charter. The question he principally alluded to was that which respected the East India Company's ships. That was a large question, which the Court had not now the means of deciding. But if they had, before they adopted any plan upon the subject, they would necessarily have occasion to bestow upon it a great deal of painful attention. He submitted, that the Court was not called upon at present to consider that subject, because it formed no part of the business before them. And after all, it was not their opinion that would decide that question, for it would be decided by other parties. But one thing was certain, that if the object contended for by the Outports were granted to them, it would be impossible to prevent the mischief that would arise from those Outports building ships, and bringing them home to this kingdom. It would be impossible to controul them in what was so important to the welfare of the mother country; while, on the other hand, the East India Company never built their ships in India.

Mr. *Impey* said, he was sure there was no man who could be more sensible of the importance of

unanimity in their proceedings than he was; and he hoped the unanimity that had prevailed in the Court on the various discussions before it, would not, at this period, when those discussions had come almost to a close, be disturbed, by what he must call, a *stratagem* of the enemy.—(*Hear! hear! hear!*)—An observation had been just made, that if the Court approved of this Petition upon the whole, they ought not to cavil at particular parts of it, and enter into useless deliberations upon any unimportant or slight alteration. In that observation he fully concurred. He begged now to reflect upon the line of conduct the Court had pursued, which had been voted so unanimously. In these Resolutions there were many points that both he himself, and many others, might have altered for the better. But because he, and those gentlemen, conceived those resolutions contained the case of the Company substantially, they had abstained from making objections of minor importance for the purpose of exciting debate. Since he last had the honour of addressing the Court, he had read the Petition with great care and attention, and he was proud and happy to bear his testimony to the great ability displayed in the composition of all its parts. It did appear to him to be impossible that the case of the Company could be stated with more comprehensive

reasoning, more strength of argument, or more persuasive eloquence, than were to be found in that Petition: and whatever might be the event of the contest into which they were now forced, whether the Company were to be confirmed in the enjoyment of all their settlements, privileges, and immunities, or whether they were to be stripped of all those advantages which they had proved themselves so worthy to possess; that paper would be a splendid monument for the firmness and eloquence in which it is couched, and of the claims which the Company have been able to advance to the justice and gratitude of the country.—(*Hear! hear!*)—The Petition, in the first place, contained a short abstract of the history of the Company, and that, without doubt, was peculiarly necessary; because it gave information, not only to the public, but even to the Ministers and Legislators of the Country. It was an undoubted and notorious fact, of which he and many others in that Court had daily experience, that there was the grossest ignorance pervading the public mind upon the subject of East India affairs: and this ignorance was not confined to the great public; for they had occasion every day to remark how very ignorant even well informed and well educated men were upon the subject of India affairs. Whilst these men would

be ashamed to converse, or even open their mouths, if they were not well acquainted with the history, the power, and the polity, of the Greeks, Egyptians, and Roman empires, they betrayed no sort of shame at being wholly ignorant of the steps by which the East-India Company had attained unrivalled power in India, established stations that astonished even those who were acquainted with them, and instituted a system of polity that would do honour to the wisest studies of government. During the last half century, while the British nation had been engaged in many bloody contests, involved in scenes which had been as various as they were numerous, and frequently as disastrous as they were glorious; such was the character of the administration of the Company's affairs in India, that they had overcome all the opposition of their enemies, and established peace and tranquillity upon a footing not to be shaken by external relations. The names of *Clive*, *Hastings*, *Cornwallis*, and, though last not least, *Wellesley*, were names that would shine with peculiar splendour in the British annals. Those men had established in that Country a system of politics, and secured the Empire upon such a basis that nothing but our own indiscretion could destroy.—(*Hear! hear!*)—The Petition went on to state the rights of the

Company; and he was sure that no language was wanted, and none failed to be used to make the application of those rights commensurate with the history of our Eastern settlements. The Court had been told by those who were not eminent for their friendship to the Company, when the subject had been before agitated within those walls, "that their lease was out," and that observation had been repeated on a recent occasion in that Court. He was the more desirous of noting that remark, because it shewed the fallacy of the reasoning upon which those persons wished to deprive the Company of the advantages they so justly enjoyed. Those persons should be informed, that there was no truth in their assertion, and that the application of it was inconsistent with the grounds upon which the Company's claims were founded. These persons should be informed, that the key of India was the *purchased property* of the India Company. They should be informed, that the India Company held not their possessions by the right of conquest, which was, indeed, a tenure that might be doubted; but by purchase. Such was the means through which they came possessed of St. Helena, Bombay, Madras, Bengal, and Calcutta, the great emporium of British India. Perhaps those bold speculators, who now sought to invade their rights,

might be a little shaken in their hopes of rivalling the British East-India Company's trade by any means within themselves. They might, indeed, rival them if they could go to their ports, under the protection of the Company's cannon; but he had better hopes of the wisdom and generosity of the British Legislature, than to suppose that they would not *hesitate* and *deliberate* upon the expediency of divesting the East India Company of what he (Mr Impey) called their unalienable rights, in those ports and batteries, by which their settlements and trade were protected; especially when they came to recollect that they were erected by their ancestors, and continued for two hundred years last past in the same proprietors.—The Petition also stated the Company's claims, and he would venture boldly to state, that never, in the history of mankind, were there any subjects of any empire that could advance such rational and such just claims upon the justice and gratitude of their country. What, he asked, were the claims they advanced? What were their merits? What the justice of their cause? A vast empire, supported by privileges of the most valuable kind—extended by a series of the most brilliant military successes—regulated upon the soundest principles of political wisdom—equally calculated to

promote the welfare of the Empire itself, and procure lasting benefit to the mother country: an establishment which had been now long flourishing, and this too, without any expence or trouble to the parent country: a possession which was maintained to it by the East India Company in the nature of a trust!—Such were the claims they had to advance upon the justice and gratitude of their Country. He had heard, and he had read, of the ingratitude of nations to their most meritorious servants; he had heard of the execution of a Phocion, and the banishment of an Hannibal; but happy he was to say, that those acts of injustice and ingratitude were the acts of declining States: they were symptoms which indicated the progress of their ruin and dissolution. But he could not imagine that this glorious nation, which had maintained the most arduous struggle in the annals of the world, to uphold the liberties of Europe against the machinations of a powerful enemy, would act so ungrateful a part towards a Company which had added the proudest jewel to the British Crown. And for what purpose, he would ask? For the purpose of a commercial speculation!—*(Hear! hear!)* — If this unwise step should be resolved upon, he hesitated not to say, that it must be carried into execution upon principles not only in direct contradiction

to modern experience, but in contradiction to the experience of the whole world.—*(Hear! hear!)*

The honourable gentleman (Mr. Hume) who had opposed the whole course of their proceedings in this important question, had thought proper to notice, with disapprobation, those words in the Petition, "that the petitioners submit, that they would not be contented to become parties to any system which, on consideration, should appear to them would be likely to prove an illusion." He would ask the honourable gentleman, whether he meant to say, that the Company *would* be justified in becoming parties to such a system, if they thought it an illusion? Entertaining, as the Company did, so unanimous a sentiment upon this subject, and having decided that the measure proposed by Ministers would be a delusion upon the merchants seeking an open trade, as their hopes could not be gratified; and, believing that it would be a complete delusion to suppose those gentlemen could carry on the trade when they entered upon it; the Company could not be justified in becoming parties to such a measure. If he understood the opinion of the Court correctly, and if he duly appreciated their interests, they would indeed be most unjustifiable if they did not state to the Le-

gislature what their sentiments were upon this subject. It had been said, "that it was the duty of the Company to obey the Legislature, whatever its decision might be." But he did contend, that it was not the duty of the Company, in a matter of compact, to agree to *any* terms which such a legislature might think it necessary to dictate. Would the honourable gentleman go the length of saying, if it was proposed, that the India Company should continue to direct the affairs of India, without the China trade, that the Company could perform their appointed trust upon those terms? Should they, he would ask, be justified in becoming parties to that delusion upon the public? How did the present disposition of Ministers differ from that, if the petitioning for a free trade for the outports would ultimately lead to the destruction of the Chinese trade? In his opinion, if the East-India Company were decided upon this point, it would be illusory and unjustifiable, in the extreme, in them not to state to the Legislature that they were unable, on such conditions as were proposed, to carry on the business of the Company. He was sorry to observe, when the Court last met, that the same honourable gentleman who had taken, what had been called, so singular a line of conduct in this Court, persisted in asserting that the Directors had been

wrong in respect of the negociation they had had with His Majesty's Ministers. He was sorry that he should persist in that assertion; because, in the present stage of the business, it could be attended with no good end: and, certainly, it very ill accorded with the professions of friendship the honourable gentleman held out for a system of which he had been pleased to express his strongest approbation: but, he would say, that if the Court were unanimous amongst themselves, he did not despair of a satisfactory adjustment of this subject. For his own part, he highly approved the conduct of the Directors in the negociation. It was not true, that they held out any feeling of reluctance to meet the proposal of Government; on the contrary, they had stated, that they would undertake to come to an amicable agreement with the Government, if the proposal should be effectually insisted upon, and even if they thought it absolutely ruinous.

He was sorry to find that he had unfortunately given offence to the honourable gentleman by some expressions used by him (Mr. Impey) at the last Court, in which he called the honourable gentleman an enemy to the East India Company. He assured the Court he had no wish whatever to detract from the character of that honourable gentleman, by such a declaration. Indeed, at first, he was

not conscious that he had made use of any such expression, or that any observation had fallen from him which could procure such an effect upon the honourable gentleman's feelings; but he found, from the printed report of the debates, words were imputed to him, and which, he dared to say, were used, to this effect: "that it was not *every enemy* of the East India Company who was so *liberal* as the honourable gentleman;" or, in other words, that the honourable gentleman was more liberal than other enemies of the East India Company. The words he could not recall; but he hoped the Court would give him leave to justify them as well as he could. In the first place he certainly never thought that in accusing the honourable gentleman of being an enemy to the Company he could be considered as having cast an imputation upon his moral character. Every one knew that Adam Smith was an enemy to the India Company. Every body knew also that Mr. Burke was no friend to the Company; yet no man thought proper to make that a subject of imputation upon their moral characters. All he could mean by what he said was merely an imputation upon the honourable gentleman's *intellectual*, and not his *moral*, character: and if the honourable gentleman conceived that these words in the Petition relating to the illusion should be

left out, all that could be said was, that the blame must be thrown upon the whole Court if they could not concur in his sentiments. But he really thought, when the honourable gentleman had made up his mind to act the part he had taken in the Court, he ought also to have made up his mind to be considered as an enemy of the Company. That honourable gentleman had opposed their statements, and thrown every obstacle he could, in the way of their proceedings, and every word of the honourable gentleman shewed as all must admit, that the honourable gentleman was an enemy of the India Company. If that was the case he was at a loss to reconcile the conduct of the honourable gentleman with his expression, when he declared that he threw the imputation back into the teeth of the person who had designated him as an enemy to the Company. The inference of this was, that they were the enemies of the Company who advocated their cause; and, to simple minds, it would seem from thence, that the honourable gentleman was the *only friend*, and that the East-India Company were enemies to themselves!—(*Much laughter.*) But the honourable gentleman was not only not contented with assuring the Company that *he* was not their enemy, but he would have the Court believe that the merchants of the Outports

were not their enemies. Now, if the merchants were not their enemies, he much lamented that the Company had been so egregiously deceived with respect to their intentions, and it would have been much to their satisfaction if they had been apprized of this, in order that they might not only avoid ruin by their own means, but that they might have the satisfaction of falling by the daggers of their own friends—like Cæsar, whose assassins hailed him with obsequious reverence at the moment when their poignards were raised for his destruction.—*(Hear! hear!)* If he had inclined to be poetical upon this subject he could remind the Court of an adage which they must all remember:—

> "An open foe may prove a curse,
> "But a pretended friend is worse."

And as the honourable gentleman pretended to be one of the warm friends of the Company, he would beg leave to ask, what were the tributes of that friendship? The continued opposition of the honourable gentleman had made him their friend, just as too great partiality for his enemies had instructed him in the duties of their interest; and the disinterested feeling of the honourable gentleman reminded him of another couplet from

an eminent poet, which tolerably well depicted the sources of his friendship:

> " And set our interests and our passions free,
> " My friend may have the meat that injures me."

Now, he would take leave to ask, whether the honourable gentleman, if he had looked at the petitions of the Outports, would not admit, that there were in them many calumnies and many assertions hostile to the East-India Company? For he had not heard that honourable gentleman shew the slightest indignation against any of them, which he certainly would have done had he been sincerely the friend of the Company. The Court had a right to ask this of him; and if he really entertained those sentiments of friendship for the interest of the Company's claims, he trusted he would no longer oppose them,—no longer disseminate language and principles which might be seriously injurious to those whose friend he professed to be. If the honourable gentleman should pursue the same line of conduct, it would be impossible to believe that there was any sincerity in his declarations; and he must at once be pronounced to be an enemy; on the other hand, should he alter the line of conduct which he had hitherto pursued,

and prove himself the sincere friend of the Company, it was unnecessary to say that the Court would be thoroughly gratified by his exertions. He (Mr. Impey) was sorry to have taken up so much of the time and attention of the Court. The crisis was near approaching when they would come to the formal business of presenting the Petition to Parliament;—a Petition which, if it was in substance true, no man ought to cavil at its inferior points. He anticipated an unanimous vote upon this question, and that the Petition would be presented to Parliament unaltered.

The amendment, as moved by Mr. Hume, was then read by the Clerk; and the question was put by the Chairman, "that those words stand part of the Petition," when it was negatived with only *two* hands in its favour.

Mr. *Hume* again rose and said, that, seeing the disposition of the Court, he should not persist in moving what he conscientiously conceived to be sound objections to the Petition and the right course of proceeding on the present occasion. If simple assertion was to be brought forward, and stated in opposition to what he had offered as facts, and given from the actual accounts laid before the public and the House of Commons itself, and, if simple declaration, on

the part of honourable gentlemen, were to be received as proofs in answer to what he had offered as facts in the case, he thought it was wholly unnecessary for him to attempt any thing further in that Court. This, however, he would undertake to say, that he could not admit, for one moment, the imputation that any unworthy motive had actuated him in any part of his conduct; and if he did not think that, in withdrawing from the East-India Company a part of their various expences and commercial engagements, and allowing a participation of the trade to the Outports, would be attended with benefit to the country as well as to their best interests, he should not for a moment have ventured to oppose any thing offered to the Court. Already he had stated an instance of the strongest and most important nature, for the purpose of shewing the necessity of alleviating the national distresses of the country; and he should not, at this time, renew his observations upon that subject. Upon the matter of illusion, it was considered by honourable Proprietors, who spoke in the course of this day, that the opening of the trade to India was an illusion. He could have given an instance, as strong as ever was known, and as ever occupied the attention of any political body,

for the purpose of illustrating the subject, and shewing the fallacy of that idea. He alluded to events in Spain, when that country was the centre of all trade for the commerce of Europe. What, he would ask, was the cry of ruin and starvation—

Mr. *Parnther* spoke to order, and said that the honourable gentleman had already spoken, and there was no question before the Court.

The *Chairman* said he understood the honourable Proprietor to say, that he did not mean to persist in his other amendments.

Mr. *Hume* said, in his other amendments he certainly did not mean to persist.

The *Chairman* said, if that was the case he would submit to the honourable Proprietor that any further speech was unnecessary.

A cry of *Question* now prevailed through the Court.

Mr. *Hume* thought it might appear very extraordinary if, having come before the Court to propose amendments, he had retired and declined supporting them, without assigning his reasons for such conduct. As that would appear extremely inconsistent, he hoped he should be allowed to state his reasons for withdrawing the amendments, and why he would not press the

question.—*(Cries of Question! question! question!)* He would not take up the time of the Court, as he saw it was determined he should not be heard.*(—No! no! no!)*

The *Chairman* begged it might be understood that there was not the slightest disinclination either before or behind the bar to hear a y thing the honourable Proprietor might think it necessary to suggest; but, learning that he meant to withdraw his amendments from the consideration of the Court, it did appear to him that his observations were somewhat irrelevant. He begged pardon for making use of that expression; but he really thought the course the honourable gentleman was now pursuing was wide of the question before the Court, which he apprehended was simply to approve of the Petition. If the honourable gentleman had persisted in his amendments, he might have taken a more extensive scope of argument; but as he had very kindly and considerately, for the benefit of the Court, declared that he would not take up their time, by further opposing the Petition, he (the Chairman) should submit whether the question ought not now to be put upon the Petition?

Mr. *Hume* said he had only two points to urge; but as there was no disposition to hear what he

had to say, he certainly should not trespass upon the attention of the Court.

Mr. *Randle Jackson* spoke to order. He said, if the honourable gentleman was to be allowed to sit down or stand up whenever he pleased, there would be no end of their discussions. Nothing, he was persuaded, would be more painful to that Court than, on a question of such great importance, that an impression should go forth of any honourable gentleman being compelled to sit down, because the Court would not give him a hearing. The honourable gentleman certainly was perfectly right in attempting to assign his reasons for not persisting in his proposed amendments; but, according to the declaration which had now fallen from the Chair, he was bound, as matter of respect to the Court, and as a rule of public debate, to confine himself strictly to a declaration of those reasons why he did not persist in his amendments. He (Mr. R. J.) was anxious it should not go forth to the public, that the declaration now made by the honourable gentleman was founded in truth. Such a declaration would indeed appear to be very extraordinary, when it was recollected that the honourable gentleman had distinctly avowed and acknowledged he had been heard to the full extent of his own wishes. Such was the ad-

mission of the honourable gentleman upon a former day, which he supposed the honourable gentleman would hardly venture to deny, and which a publication, since sent forth into the world by that honourable gentleman, fully confirmed. The Court, therefore, must not allow him to depart from his own admission. Certainly, from the disposition manifested by that honourable gentleman, it was pretty certain that if his inclinations were indulged, he would talk down a summer's sun:—*(a laugh)*—yet he had enjoyed the opportunity of being heard fully and fairly to the extent of his own wishes, he (Mr. Jackson) himself being among the auditors of his repeated speeches upon this subject; and certainly he admitted it to be desirable that he should have been heard, because it was important to the character of the Court; and, feeling it equally as important that the honourable gentleman should not be allowed to declare out of the Court that he had not had a patient hearing, he did hope that he would now be attended to with all the respect due to talents like his, and that the Court would listen to such reasons as his best judgment might suggest.

Mr. *Hume* said that if, on a former occasion, he had acknowledged that he had been fully and patiently heard, that acknowledgment was

due to the indulgence and kindness of the Court; but the allusion which the honourable Proprietor had made as to his having intimated that such indulgence was not bestowed upon him, that was not the time of which he complained. It was on a subsequent occasion when, he was sorry to say, that a very different disposition was manifested towards him; but, at present, he was discouraged from proceeding in the observations he was about to make, when he observed that, however irrelevant the observations of other Proprietors were, and many such he had heard in the course of this debate, the rigid rule, which was now adopted against him, had not been enforced towards others. However, as he saw some symptoms of a disposition now to hear him, he should allude to the fact he had intended to bring forward before. It was a notorious circumstance in history that there was a similar outcry in Spain, when that country was the emporium of commerce, to that which now assailed the ears of every one upon the subject of East-India affairs, when it was proposed to remove the trade of that country from *Cadiz* to *Corunna*, the arguments and the outcry on that occasion were, that destruction was to take place, to the commerce of the country.

He had now stated every thing he wished to

state; because he was satisfied, that if he ventured more the Court would again think he was wandering from the subject. It was perfectly impossible that he could be deemed regular, after what had fallen from the Chair; and as he could not hope that gentlemen would go along with him in a concurrence of sentiment, he certainly should not trespass longer on the attention of the Court.—*(Cries of Go on! go on!)*—The honourable gentleman continued: and said, that he thought it was perfectly unnecessary and useless for him to go on, when he perceived the feeling of the Court towards him. He was aware, that when he stated his reasons for moving his original amendment, the honourable gentleman, who sat within the bar (Mr. Thornton), had declared, that in point of opposition, nothing would induce him to agree with his (Mr. Hume's) amendment.—*(No, no! no such thing!)*

The *Deputy Chairman* (Mr. Thornton) said, he wished to be understood, that it was not on account of opposition to the honourable gentleman that he did not agree with his amendment; because he should think that a very unworthy motive, which never could operate on his mind. But it was from the manner in which the honourable gentleman proposed to give up a *previous* motion, that he could

not give his sanction to a suggestion which he thought would be extremely detrimental to the Country. He therefore begged leave to set the honourable gentleman right, by assuring him, that he had no unworthy motive for opposing his amendment.

Mr. *Rock* now attempted to address the Court; but his voice was drowned by the cry of *Question! Question!*

Mr. *Hume* again rose. He said, he was only stating *one* of *fifty* reasons why he was discouraged from proceeding, and why he was deterred from going on with such observations as occurred to him. He had taken down the honourable gentleman's (Mr. Thornton) words, and he took them down right, he was sure. The words, he said, were these: "that previous to coming into Court he saw no particular objection to those words being left out; but now, seeing the quarter from which the proposition came, and the manner of its being done, he, for one, hoped the amendment would not be adopted." He appealed to the Court, whether he was not correct? The hon. gentleman had said, that although he admitted that the words were immaterial, they became matter of great consequence, because the proposal to leave them out came from him (Mr. Hume). Surely, when such a disposition as this

was manifested towards him, was he not justified in saying, that there seemed to be no inclination to give him a patient hearing? This shewed, notwithstanding the sincere professions he had made of good-will towards the Company, that the honourable gentleman proceeded on the idea of his being an enemy. He appealed to the recollection and justice of the Court, whether the *sole* ground of his proposition was not his wish that the Court should be unanimous in their sentiments upon the subject of their Petition, and that they should agree to nothing which should afford ground for any thing like *cavil* on the part of those who were enemies of the Company. He wished clearly to be understood, notwithstanding what an honourable gentleman had said, that he was a *new convert* upon this subject, he was by no means so indifferent to the interest and welfare of the Company for that reason. That honourable gentleman had remarked, that new converts were not generally so sincere in their sentiments, and so zealous to propagate their faith as the old disciples of the system. The honourable gentleman was mistaken in his ideas upon *that* subject; for it was generally remarked, that new converts were remarkable for their zeal in the new doctrines they had embraced, and he trusted the Court would find in him as worthy a-

disciple as any of the most zealous of their friends. But really he should consider himself obtruding on the time of the Court, if he were to go through all the observations he should wish to have made in support of the other objections to this petition. Trusting, however, that these points to which he had taken exception would be explained elsewhere in the way an honourable gentleman had stated, he should not now trespass any further on the time of the Court.

The question was then put upon the Petition, and carried, with only one dissentient vote.

A second Petition to Parliament, to enable the Company to raise money, if it should be necessary, to meet the bonds that had been paid, and other calculations relating to the East India Company's affairs, was then laid before the Court, read, and agreed to.

The Chairman stated to the Court, that there were two other Petitions to be read, which were merely Petitions to the House of Commons to receive the Petitions which the Court had just approved of.

The Petitions were then read, and agreed to unanimously.

The *Chairman* then said, he had only to move that the Company's seal be affixed to the Petition.

Mr. *Hume* asked, whether it was not usual, in Petitions like the two last agreed to, for the Petitioners to pray that they might be heard by their Counsel, if necessary.

The *Chairman* said, he believed not; but if the Petitioners against the Company wished to be heard by Counsel, then it would be necessary for the East India Company to have Counsel also.

Mr. *Hume* observed, he had merely mentioned it, as it occurred to him it might be necessary.

The *Chairman* replied, that the Company must wait for the occasion, if Counsel should be necessary.

The question for putting the Company's seal to the Petitions was then carried unanimously.

The question, "that this Court do now adjourn," having been put by the Chairman,

Mr. *Randle Jackson* rose. He begged pardon for rising at this hour of the day to trespass on the attention of the Court: but he did it with a view of calling their notice to the further papers just published by the Company (No. 8), respecting the negociation for a renewal of the East India Company's privileges. Those papers purported to contain an answer to the arguments urged in the Petitions from the Outports, against the renewal of the Company's Charter. The Company having been informed by one of His Majesty's

principal Secretaries of State, in his letter of the 4th of January, that they might have the Petitions presented to Parliament in the course of the last session laid before them, for the purpose of ascertaining the species of arguments which had induced His Majesty's Ministers to be of opinion, that the import trade from the East Indies should not be confined to the Port of London; and as the Company felt it their duty to submit to the Legislature such representations as they thought necessary for the security of their privileges, they had availed themselves of that offer so made to them. The Court, he was persuaded, would bear testimony to the ability and the convincing arguments contained in those papers, in answer to the demands of the Outports. The difficulty of their task must have, indeed, been very great, when they considered the mass of Petitions, heavy beyond all example, which the Court of Directors had to peruse. Perhaps their reply to the propositions contained in those Petitions was the completest answer that could be given upon such a subject. He would not now enter into a recapitulation of the important details contained in those papers, though the statements were as succinct as it was possible for the most lucid arrangement, and the strongest language to make: and though the reasons set forth were of the most conclusive nature, in favour of

the Company, and would not fail, he hoped, of making a deep impression upon the minds of His Majesty's Ministers, yet he was afraid that the papers were too voluminous to allow a general perusal of them; and, consequently, the object of the Court would be defeated, however powerful the argument, and however convincing the reasoning. He therefore thought it was of the greatest importance to their cause that this report should on some future occasion, be compressed into a more substantial and concise form, or thrown into a few short but expressive resolutions, in order that those who *run* might *read*—to induce the public and every one interested in this question, to hear the reasons, and read the argument of the Company—this was a most desirable object to attain; especially when he considered the extremely important propositions contained in that Report. [For this Report, see the Appendix.] He would not detain them by reciting those propositions, which struck his mind to be the most important; but among others, there was one which he could not resist stating to the Court. It had been notoriously said, but fallaciously argued, that the East India Company possessed what was vulgarly called, a *monopoly* in the trade to India. Any man who read that report dispassionately, would be convinced of the erroneous impression which

had gone abroad on this subject. He would find, upon the most satisfactory documents contained in that report, that no less than £33,000,000 of money had been employed in commercial transactions, without the Company's having any participation with that measure. Besides this, there were a variety of other most important statements upon the subject of the China trade, which shewed how fallacious the views entertained by the public were. The subject also of what was called *the Company's rights*, was most ably treated. It was asked, what rights had the Company? When they talked of rights, what did they mean? "They had no rights," it was said. Surely the public should entertain a just view of the subject. Such a corporation as the India Company must have great and important rights, notwithstanding the expiration of their Charter. Surely the possession which they enjoyed and had acquired in India; the commercial relations they had established under the sanction of the charter granted them in 1793, were rights as dear to them, and as valuable as the privileges enjoyed under the Charter of the Corporation of London. Therefore, when the Court talked of rights, they meant those rights claimed under existing charters; and when they talked of being ruined by the deprivation of their charter, they called those grounds

upon which they sought a continuance of it, not *rights* but *claims*; and certainly, in point of justice, this was the fair principle upon which their appeal could be made to the justice and the gratitude of the country. What were the claims of the Company? They had established a system of government unexampled in the history of any colonial settlement. They had provided regulations advantageous to themselves and to their mother country, and they had created a population beyond all calculation great. These were the grounds upon which, not the Company's *rights*, but their *claims* were founded. The Company was much misrepresented when it was stated that they called that a right by which they desired the continuance of an exclusive trade to India. Such was not the case. The Company merely called them claims, and not rights. This, and a variety of other misrepresentations, in which the Company had been subjected, the paper he now alluded to would completely explain. He took this occasion to vindicate the Company from any disposition on their parts to reject all alterations in the plan by which they enjoyed the exclusive trade to India; but he apprehended that it was impossible a more perfect system of government could be established than that now acted upon in India,

had turned out to be; and he thought it was impossible to make any alteration in the political system by which the East was governed, without endangering the security of our empire in India. Desirous, however, as he was, that the report to which he had adverted might be attended with the greatest possible advantage in removing those misrepresentations and prejudices by which the public judgment was warped upon this subject, he felt a strong wish that it might be reduced to such a form which, while, on the one hand, by its brevity, it lost none of the spirit of the original, and, on the other, insured the certainty of its intended effect. He should not now, however, trespass upon the time of the Court by offering any proposition upon the subject; but certainly, at some future Court, without its being called for the purpose, he should propose something in the nature of these four short resolutions containing the spirit of the report. With this intimation, perhaps he would at the next Court, or the earliest convenient season, take the liberty of offering some proposition of that nature.

The Rev. Mr. *Thirlwall* begged to remark, with respect to the papers alluded to by the honourable Proprietor, that, for his own part, a more luminous publication, or more convincing arguments he never read. They were such as

impressed upon his mind the strongest conviction of the unanswerable merits of the India Company's cause. He would submit, therefore, that instead of abridging them of one word, as the honourable and learned gentleman proposed, they ought to remain in their present unexceptionable shape. Every part of them was intelligible to him; and, being himself a man of very plain understanding, he was persuaded that every body present must be equally impressed with their truth, and the force of their reasoning. As the papers were so very intelligible, he was persuaded there was no man who felt any interest upon this subject would hesitate in reading every part of them. He therefore thought the honourable gentleman's proposition was rather impolitic; and so far was he from thinking that they ought to be compressed, that if the learned gentleman would not, he *would*, move, that the Report should be printed and circulated.

Mr. *R. Jackson* said he by no means wished to excite discussion. He had merely offered his reasons for thinking that the report would produce a greater effect upon the public mind if it was in a more compressed form. He was afraid that in its present shape it was so very voluminous that it would not be read. His wish was by no means to suppress any thing contained

in it; on the contrary, his desire was that it should be read. But if it would not be read in its present state, he was desirous of answering the purpose of the Report by publishing certain resolutions containing the substance of it.

Mr. *Impey* wished to make one observation. It did seem to him, that no proposition like that suggested by the honourable and learned gentleman would have the effect which the Report itself would have upon the public mind. He could not conceive that a Report, which contained thirty or forty pages, and about nine propositions, was of such a length as to intimidate persons interested in this question from reading it. Certainly it was a most material Paper to the cause of the East-India Company; and there was no person, he was persuaded, who would take the trouble to read it, who would not be struck with the importance and the weight of the arguments contained in it. He believed there were few minds, even the most unenlightened, to which its statements would not be intelligible. Perhaps it might be thought rather voluminous; but, in his opinion, it would be impossible to compress it without the effect intended being materially lessened. No person, who entertained a due sense of the importance of this vast question, could feel any disinclination to peruse a

document even of much greater length. He therefore should rather have expected that a motion would have been offered for printing and circulating a Report so important to the views of the Company.

Mr. *Hume* rose amidst a cry of "*No question!*" for the purpose of addressing the Court. He said he was convinced what he was about to do was irregular; but he assured the Court that he would not have felt disposed to say one word, had not the honourable gentleman who spoke last but two (Mr. Jackson) used so many on the subject. The honourable gentleman had begged the question in so many instances, that he could not help making one or two observations.—(*A cry of question! question!*) However, as he now saw there was no disposition to hear him, he should certainly sit down.

The *Chairman* begged to remind the honourable gentleman that there was no question before the Court. His honourable and learned friend (Mr. Jackson) did not bring any question under the consideration of the Court. He had merely given notice that he should perhaps, on some future occasion, submit to the Court certain propositions. The Court was not, however, debating those propositions at the present moment. Therefore he apprehended the honourable gentleman

(Mr. Hume) would be rather irregular in again addressing the Court. An honourable gentleman on his right hand (Mr. Thirlwall) did propose making some motion this day; but his honourable and learned friend (Mr. Jackson) did not do so; and, with respect to the other honourable gentleman's motion, he would take the liberty of submitting to him, as at the present moment the Court was so much thinned by the departure of Proprietors, whether it would be proper to come to a resolution of the nature suggested by him under such circumstances. However, he would leave it to his discretion.

The Rev. Mr. *Thirlwall* said that, with the deference he felt for the opinion of the Chair, he certainly would forbear following up his opinion with a motion.

The Court was then adjourned *sine die*.

APPENDIX.

Copy of a Petition from the EAST-INDIA COMPANY *to the Honorable* HOUSE OF COMMONS.

To the Honorable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled,

The humble Petition of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies,

SHEWETH:

That your Petitioners, in approaching this Honorable House with an application for a continuance of the system by which the relation between Great Britain and the East-Indies is now regulated, hope they may be permitted to state the outlines of the history of the establishment of your Petitioners, as well as their present situation, as to their property and rights, their functions and obligations.

That the first adventurers in a trade from England to the East-Indies, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, were incorporated by Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth, by her royal letters patent, bearing date the 31st day of December 1601*, by the stile of "The Governor "and Company of Merchants of London trading into "the East-Indies," to whom, by the same instrument, the exclusive right of trading to that country was granted by Her said Majesty for a term of fifteen years from Christmas then last past.

That the corporate capacity of the said Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into

* Printed Charters, 4to. edition, page 3.

the East-Indies, with the privilege of the exclusive trade, was renewed, revived, and confirmed to them, in perpetuity, by several charters, or letters patent, granted respectively by their Majesties, King James the First, King Charles the Second, King James the Second, and King William and Queen Mary *: subject, nevertheless, to a provision, that if the continuance of any of their charters, in the whole or in part, should not be profitable to the realm, that, upon three years warning to be given to the said Company, all the said charters should cease, determine, and be void.†

That the said Governor and Company were empowered by their Charters to establish factories and settlements in the East-Indies‡; to have the government of such factories and settlements, and to appoint governors; with a judicial power to equip and maintain military forces, by sea and land, for the defence of their settlements; with the power of making peace and war with any princes or people who were not Christians, within any places of their trade; to make reprisals from those persons, in those parts, from whom they should sustain any loss or injury; to erect castles, fortifications, forts, and garrisons; and also to coin Indian money §.

That, by virtue of these powers, the said Governor and Company made settlements, and built forts and factories at different places in the East-Indies, at a very great expence; which settlements, forts, and factories, with some territory annexed to them, were purchased from the native princes of the countries within their limits. The sovereignty remained with their respective chiefs, but the immediate government of those acquisitions was exercised by the Company, under the powers which are before mentioned to have been

* Printed Charters, 4to. edition, 31st May 1609, page 27; 3d April 1661, page 54; 5th October 1677, page 108; 9th August 1683, page 116; 12th April 1686, page 125; 7th October 1693, page 141; 11th November 1693, page 152.

† Ibid. 28th September 1694, page 181.

‡ Ibid. 3d April, 13th Charles II. 1661, page 54.

§ Ibid. 5th October, 28th Charles II. 1677, page 111.

granted to them by charter; and the said Company also made a settlement in the Island of St. Helena, on its being abandoned by the Dutch, about the year 1651.

That the property and sovereignty in and over the port and island of Bombay having been ceded by the King of Portugal to His said Majesty, King Charles the Second, as part of the dowry of the Infanta of Portugal on her marriage with King Charles, His said Majesty, by his royal letters patent, bearing date the 27th day of March 1669 *, granted and conveyed unto the said Governor and Company, their successors and assigns, the property thereof, with all the rights, profits, territories, and appurtenances, and constituted them the true and absolute lords and proprietors of the port and island, in the most unlimited manner; saving to His Majesty, his heirs and successors, his royal sovereignty of and over the inhabitants there: but His Majesty granted the authority of immediate civil and military government of the place to the Company. And St. Helena having been taken from the said Company by the Dutch, in the war of 1674, was retaken by a force belonging to King Charles the Second, who, by his royal letters patent, bearing date the 16th day of December 1674 †, regranted that island, with all the rights, profits, territories, and appurtenances whatsoever, unto the said Governor and Company, their successors and assigns; and His Majesty constituted them the true and absolute lords and proprietors thereof, saving the allegiance due to His Majesty, his heirs and successors: and the said charter contained powers and authorities for the government and defence of the said island.

That, by an act of Parliament, passed in the ninth year of the reign of His late Majesty, King William the Third ‡, for raising a sum of two millions, by loan, for the public service, it was enacted, that all the subscribers to the said loan should be entitled to traffic,

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* Printed Charters, page 80. † Ibid. p. 96.
‡ 9 and 10 William III. cap. 44. sect. 61.

and use the trade of merchandize, in such places, and by such ways and passages, as were then already frequented, found out, or discovered, or which thereafter should be found out or discovered, and as they severally should esteem to be fittest or best for them, into and from the East-Indies, in the countries and parts of Asia and Africa, and into and from the islands, ports, havens, cities, creeks, towns, and places of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them, beyond the Cape of Bona Esperanza to the Streights of Magellan, where any trade or traffic of merchandize was, or might be, used or had, and to and from every of them. And, by the said act *, His Majesty was empowered to incorporate any of the subscribers, who should desire it, to trade with a joint stock: and it was enacted †, that at any time, upon three years' notice, after the 29th day of September 1711, upon repayment by Parliament of the said sum of two millions, or such part thereof as should be advanced, all the corporations to be created in pursuance of that act, and the benefit of trade thereby given, should absolutely cease and determine: and it was enacted ‡, that all such persons as should have a right of trading by virtue of that act, should have the sole and exclusive trade within the limits before mentioned.

That the said sum of two millions was subscribed within the time limited by the said act; and thereupon, by a charter, bearing date the 5th day of September 1698 §, His said Majesty was pleased to incorporate the larger part of the subscribers to the said loan, by the stile of "the English Company trading to the East-Indies;" and, by the said charter, powers of making settlements, and governing them, and maintaining military forces for their defence, were granted to the English Company, similar to those which are before stated to have been granted to the Old Company, since distinguished by the appellation of the London Company, the sovereign right, power, and dominion over

* Sect. 62. † Sect. 79. ‡ Sect. 81.
§ Printed Charters, p. 188.

all the settlements to be made, being reserved to His said Majesty.

That the above act of parliament and charter would have operated to have extinguished and determined the corporate capacity and privileges of the London Company, but the act contained a provision, that they should have liberty to trade till the 29th of September 1701; and the London Company having subscribed the sum of £315,000 towards the sum of £2,000,000 to be raised, became entitled to trade in respect of it; and therefore, by an act of Parliament passed in the twelfth year of the reign of His said Majesty, King William the Third *, their corporate capacity was continued to them, subject nevertheless to be determined upon the redemption of the fund established by the said act of the ninth of His said Majesty's reign.

That the said English Company acquired and settled several factories in the East-Indies at a very large expence †.

That, previous to the erection of the English Company, the London Company had carried on their trade with the East-Indies in competition with the Portuguese and Dutch and French Companies, and also in competition with unlicenced adventurers from Great Britain, who traded there, notwithstanding the exclusive grants which the London Company was in possession of, and which unlicenced adventurers, at times, acquired considerable ascendancy amongst the native powers ‡; and, after the incorporation of the English Company, they became also competitors in the said trade:—and no European nation having then acquired any considerable territorial dominion, the whole of the trade by Europeans was carried on entirely at the despotic will and sufferance of the native princes of the Mogul empire, the government and officers of which almost constantly shewed their favour and protection

* Private Acts, 12 Wm. III. cap. 28.

† Indenture quinquepartite, p. 316, they were made over to the United Company for £70,000.

‡ See Annals of the East-India Company.

to such of the competitors from whom they could obtain the largest presents; and, in proportion as they protected one of them, they oppressed the others: as an instance of which your petitioners shew, that the servants of the English Company in India, by means of corrupt influence with the ministers and servants of the Mogul, procured all the principal officers and members of the presidency of the London Company at Surat, then the chief seat of their trade in India, to be imprisoned for several seasons, and wholly to interrupt their commercial transactions *.

That the London Company and the English Company finding that, if their competition had continued, ruin must have ensued to both, agreed, about the year 1702, to unite together. The union was effected by force of two several indentures, dated respectively the 22d day of July 1702; one being an indenture tripartite made between Her late Majesty, Queen Anne, of the first part, and the said London Company of the second part, and the said English Company of the third part †, and the other being an indenture quinquepartite made between the said London Company of the first part, the said English Company of the second part, and certain persons, trustees of property belonging to the London Company of the third, fourth, and fifth parts ‡, and by force of an act of Parliament passed in the sixth year of the reign of Queen Anne §, and of an award of the Earl of Godolphin, then Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain, dated the 29th day of September 1708.

By the terms of the union, all the property and rights belonging to both Companies, at home and abroad, including the settlements, forts, factories, and territories which they had acquired, as is above stated, were valued, and in consideration of the value of the property of the London Company being paid or allowed in account to them, they, by proper legal instruments, transferred and made over all their pro-

* Annals, vol. III. pages 519, 543, 563.

† Printed Charters, page 243. ‡ Ibid. p 316.

§ 6th Anne, cap. 17.

perty to the English Company: and the English Company were allowed in account of the value of their property, and the property and rights of both Companies were thenceforth vested in them, for the benefit of the united concern. And the London Company having completed the transfer of its property, surrendered its corporate capacity; and from thenceforth, the English Company took the stile of "the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies," which is now the stile of your Petitioners.

Your Petitioners crave leave to draw the attention of the House to some part of the subjects, of which the property of your petitioners consisted at the time of the union of the two Companies in 1702, and which they derived by transfer from them, with the cognizance and sanction of Her Majesty, Queen Anne, and of the Parliament. Amongst other things, your Petitioners were then entitled to, and possessed of, the Islands of Bombay and St. Helena, the sovereignty of which was vested in the Crown of Great Britain: they were entitled to, and possessed of, the factories of Surat, Swally, Broach, Amadavad, Agra, and Lucknow: on the coast of Malabar they were entitled to, and possessed of, the forts of Carwar, Tellicherry, and Angengo, and the factory of Calicut: on the coast of Coromandel they were entitled to, and possessed of, the fort St. George, with the castle, fortifications, and territory thereto belonging, on which a large city, called Madras, was built, the houses of which belonged to, and paid rent to, your Petitioners; Fort St. David, being a strong fort and factory, and about three miles compass of the circumjacent country, on which several small towns and villages were erected; the factories of Codolore, Porto Novo, Pettipolles, Madapollam, and the fort and factory of Vizagapatam. In Bengal, your petitioners were entitled to, and possessed of, Fort William, and the town of Calcutta, with a large territory thereto belonging; the factories of Ballasore, Cossimbuzar, Dacca, Hughly, Maulda, Rajamaul, and Patna. All these possessions were subject to the sovereignty of the Great Mogul. On the island

of Sumatra your Petitioners were entitled to, and possessed of, York Fort at Bencoolen, and a factory, with a territory of about five miles thereto belonging, and a factory at Indrapora.

That after the union of the two Companies, your Petitioners conducted themselves so as to conciliate and acquire the confidence of the natives of India, and for a considerable period of time they had no occasion to use the right which they enjoyed, of maintaining a military force, except for purposes little beyond those of police, and as guards of their fortifications against surprise; but, near the middle of the last century, it became necessary for your Petitioners to enlarge their military force, and to exercise the power of war, and of making political engagements with some of the native powers, to support the British interests in India, and in order to counteract the intrigues of the French, who had become auxiliaries to other native powers, with the design of driving your Petitioners out of the East Indies, and of excluding the British nation wholly from Asiatic commerce; but, by means of the forces raised and maintained by your Petitioners, and at their sole expence, your Petitioners completely defeated those objects, so that, at the conclusion of the war, which ended in the year 1763, the French were left without one single settlement, and almost without influence in any part of Asia.

In the year 1757, the Nabob of Bengal permitted your Petitioners to establish a mint at Calcutta *; and, in the same year, the said Nabob made over to your Petitioners the property in certain lands in Bengal, generally called the twenty-four Purgunhas†, and the saltpetre lands of the whole province of Bahar‡: and, in the year 1758, your Petitioners obtained a grant from the said Nabob for the free tenure of the town of Calcutta, discharged from the rent to which, to that time, it had been subject§. In the year 1759, the Soubah of the Decan made over to your Petitioners the

* Printed Treaties, page 9.
† Ibid. page 10.
‡ Ibid. page 12.
§ Ibid. page 23.

whole of the circar of Masulipatam, with eight districts, as well as the circar of Nizampatam, and the districts of Condavir and Wacolmanner*. In the year 1763, the Nabob of Arcot made over to your Petitioners several districts of land surrounding Madras†, which lands have since been called the jaghire of your Petitioners: and such transfer was confirmed, in the year 1765, by the said Nabob, and also by the Great Mogul‡. In the year 1764, the Mogul made over to your Petitioners the country of the Guuzepoor and the rest of the Zemindary of Rajah Bulwant Sing§. In the year 1765, the Great Mogul granted to your Petitioners the country called the Northern Circars‖, and in the following year, such grant was acceded to by the Soubah¶: and, in the year 1765, the Great Mogul appointed your Petitioners, in perpetuity, to the office of Dewan of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, such appointment being made as a free gift**; and, by virtue of such grant, your Petitioners, in the execution of the office, acquired the right of collection of all the revenues of the said provinces, for their own use, free from any account thereof to be rendered.

Your Petitioners crave leave to remark, that no part of the property in any of the forts, factories, or territories, which became vested in your Petitioners at the time of the union of the two Companies, nor any of the territories nor rights, lastly hereinbefore mentioned to have been granted to your Petitioners, were acquired by conquest, but by purchase, by means of pecuniary payments, or by services rendered to, or other good considerations moving the grantors.

That, about the year 1767, a claim was made, on the part of the Public, to the beneficial interest in the territorial acquisitions and revenues then lately obtained there; and thereupon agreements have been made, from time to time, that the possession of such acquisitions and revenues should remain with your Petitioners, upon a participation of the profit of the revenue be-

* Printed Treaties, page 347. † Ibid. page 348. ‡ Ibid. page 362. § Ibid. page 37. ‖ Ibid. page 361. ¶ Ibid. page 367. ** Ibid. page 43.

tween the Public and your Petitioners, as mentioned in several Acts of Parliament, made and passed at different times since 1767*, without prejudice to the claims of the Public or of your Petitioners.

That previous to the year 1773, the government of the settlements and acquisitions in India was conducted under the uncontrouled direction of your Petitioners, by virtue of the powers of government, which they derived from their charters; but ever since the year 1773, the mode of the immediate government of India has been regulated by Parliament†: and from that time to the year 1784, in pursuance of directions of acts of parliament, the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, and one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, in their several departments, were made acquainted with the correspondence and orders sent to and received from India by your Petitioners, in any way relating to the management of the revenue, or civil or military affairs and government of your Petitioners in that country: and from the year 1784 to the present time, all acts, operations, and concerns, which in any ways have related to, or concerned the civil or military government or revenues of the territories and acquisitions in the East Indies, have been placed under the superintendance and controul of certain Commissioners appointed by His Majesty, in pursuance of acts of parliament passed for that purpose‡; and your Petitioners have been restrained from giving any orders or directions relative thereto, without the concurrence of the said Commissioners: and in cases in which the said Commissioners have been of opinion, that the subject matter of any of their deliberations, concerning the levying war or making peace, or treating or negociating with any of the native princes or states in India, communicated in orders to any of the governments in India, have been of

* 8 Geo. III. cap. 57; 9 Geo. III. cap. 24; 13 Geo. III. c. 64; 19 Geo. III. cap. 61; 20 Geo. III. cap. 56; 21 Geo. III. cap. 65; 33 Geo. 3. cap. 52.

† 23 Geo. III. cap. 63.

‡ 24 Geo. III. cap. 25; 28 Geo. III. cap. 8; 31 Geo. III. cap. 10; 39 Geo. III. cap 52.

a nature to require secrecy, such orders have been sent through the medium of a Secret Committee of three of the Court of Directors of your Petitioners, according to the provisions in that case made by Parliament, without any privity of your Petitioners or of their Court of Directors, and without any discretionary authority on the part of the Members of such Secret Committee.

That between the period when such claim, as herein-before mentioned, was first made, on the part of the Public, to the territorial acquisitions in the East Indies, and the year 1793, a further acquisition of territory was made in India.

That the term, heretofore granted to your Petitioners in the exclusive trade to the East Indies, being about to be redeemed in the year 1794, an act of parliament was made and passed in the thirty-third year of the reign of His present Majesty*, whereby it was enacted, amongst many other things, that† the territorial acquisitions in certain former acts mentioned, together with the territorial acquisitions then lately obtained in the East Indies, with the revenues thereof respectively, should continue in the possession of your Petitioners, during the further term by that act granted in the said exclusive trade‡; and that your Petitioners should have the exclusive trade within the limits mentioned in the said act of parliament passed in the ninth year of the reign of King William the Third, subject nevertheless to such right of trading as is thereby given to individuals, to be carried on in the manner therein mentioned, and subject to a proviso to determine such right at any time, upon three years notice to be given by Parliament, after the 1st day of March 1811, upon the expiration of the said three years, and upon payment made to your Petitioners of any sum or sums, which, under the provisions of any act of that session of Parliament, should or might, upon the expiration of the said three years, become payable to your Petitioners by the Public, according to the true intent and

* 33 Geo. III. cap. 52. † Sec. 1. ‡ Sec. 71.

meaning of such act: but it was enacted*, that nothing in that proviso, or in any proviso in the said act in the ninth year of the reign of King William the Third, in the said charter of the 5th of September, in the tenth year of his reign, or in any other act or charter, should extend to determine the corporation of your Petitioners; and by the said act† certain appropriations were made of all the profits arising from the territorial acquisitions and revenues in India, and also from the sale of goods, and all other profits of your Petitioners in Great Britain, during the time of the exclusive trade thereby granted to your Petitioners.

That the notice required by the last-mentioned act of parliament hath been given by the Speaker of your Honourable House, for determining the exclusive trade of your Petitioners, on the 10th day of April 1814.

That since the passing the said last mentioned act, a further acquisition of territory and revenue in India has been made, and is now in the possession of your Petitioners. And your Petitioners also shew, that they have taken all the forts and factories which belong to the French, Dutch, and Danes in Hindostan: and your Petitioners are now in possession, as well of the territories mentioned in the said last-mentioned act of parliament, as of those which have been since acquired; and the British dominions in India, without a rival or any enemy, now consist of a very large proportion of the peninsula, besides very extensive provinces in the north of Hindostan, and contain, as it is supposed, above fifty millions of inhabitants, and have been acquired wholly at the expence and risk of your Petitioners, without any charge whatever to the British Exchequer: for though land forces belonging to His Majesty have been employed in conjunction with the forces raised by your Petitioners; yet the whole of the expence of such forces of His Majesty, whilst they have been employed in such service, as well as for their passage out and home, and in recruiting, has been defrayed by your Petitioners: besides which, for a considerable

* Sec. 74. † Sec. 107 to 112.

length of time, your Petitioners furnished or paid for victualling and stores for the use of His Majesty's ships of war in the East Indies.

Your Petitioners beg leave humbly to represent, that the welfare and happiness of the inhabitants of the countries which have come under the care of your Petitioners, have been their chief object; and they have reason to hope and believe, that the amelioration of the condition of the people is most eminently conspicuous. When Hindostan was first visited by British traders, and long after the union of the two Companies beforementioned, when the opposition, not only of British subject against British subject, but of European against European, and the corrupt and impolitic attempts which were constantly made by one party, to raise the despotic powers of the Indian States against other parties, had in some measure ceased, the character of the native governments, as well as of the native individuals, remained unchanged; the ill usage which they had received from individual and associated Europeans, roaming about without responsibility or controul, raised a jealousy and animosity against every stranger without distinction, and the internal state of the country, where justice and injustice were equally articles of traffic to be bought and sold, left the rights of persons and property entirely at hazard.

Your Petitioners found the country divided into many different states, all feudatory to the Mogul, who was considered the sole proprietor of the whole. These states were again divided amongst Zemindars and chiefs, with other designations, under whom there were sub-infeudations down to the Ryots, who were the actual cultivators of the soil, and no man held any land, and scarcely a crop, but at the will of another of superior power; there were no effectual means of resort for the support of any right or the avenging any wrong, and the will of the strongest was the only practical rule of conduct which was established. Under the management of your Petitioners, the scene has been entirely changed. By fixing certain permanent and invariable rents, a new and valuable property has been, as it

were, created to the natives. By the establishment of courts of justice, and the appointment of liberal emoluments to those who devote their lives to the study and administration of laws adapted to the usages, customs, and religions of the inhabitants, they have removed temptations to corruption, and have provided the means for the inhabitants to be insured in the enjoyment of property thus created for them. Courts of criminal judicature have also been universally erected, which have effectually provided for personal liberty and security. By the alterations which have taken place, the practical means of foreign commerce, of traffic from port to port and internally, have been facilitated, very greatly to its increase.

That it may not be supposed that your Petitioners have assumed merits which they are not entitled to, they beg leave to refer to the Fifth Report of the Select Committee of this Honourable House on the Affairs of the East India Company, which was presented to this Honourable House on the 28th day of July last.

Notwithstanding the ameliorated condition of the natives of India under the government of your Petitioners, to which they have been accustomed, yet the tranquillity of the country is not maintained by a physical force, but chiefly by moral influence, and in a great degree even by prejudice; any change would alarm them; and their submission to British authority would be greatly endangered by an unrestrained resort of Europeans in search of wealth, either by commerce or other means, at distances from the principal seats of government, or in such numbers at those seats, as to be beyond the controul of the governors; and by the resort of persons who may not have such connection with, and interest to uphold, the authority of the ruling power, as will insure the utmost care in their conduct, not only not to irritate, but positively to conciliate the natives with whom they may have dealings.

Your Petitioners beg leave to represent, that their military establishments, artillery, and marine, have been of other most important advantages to this nation, inasmuch as in the several European wars in which this

society has been engaged since the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the forces of your Petitioners alone, or in conjunction with the forces of His Majesty, at the expence of your Petitioners, have taken all the settlements belonging to the Europeans on the continent of India, with whom this nation has been at war: and such captures have formed part of the price of national peace, without any compensation to your Petitioners: and, upon the suggestion of His Majesty's Ministers, your Petitioners sent a large force from India into Egypt, by the Red Sea, to co-operate with His Majesty's forces against the French, in the year 1801; and, in the present war, by expeditions equipped from India, all the possessions of the French, Dutch, and Danes, in the East, have been conquered: and though, as to such of those expeditions, the accounts of which have been settled, your Petitioners have been allowed considerable sums on the part of the Public, yet such allowances were calculated to reimburse only a part of the vast expenditure actually advanced by your Petitioners for those great national objects.

Your Petitioners humbly hope, they will be found to have been as attentive to, and as successful in the cultivation of the trade with China, as they have been with respect to the concerns in India. The peculiarities of the Chinese, and the delicacy attendant upon any intercourse with them, must be too well known, as matter of history, to every Member of this Honourable House, to require any statement of it in this Petition: it will be sufficient to inform this Honourable House, that it is but a little more than one hundred years since any trade whatever has been carried on between this country and China, and that, at this time, about forty-six thousand tons of shipping are employed by your Petitioners therein, and that your Petitioners entertain in China, for the purposes of that trade, a regular establishment of servants, called supra-cargoes, and others of inferior ranks, whose business it is to keep up a connection with the few merchants, or more properly mercantile officers, of the Chinese government, who are deputed to manage, on the part of the Chinese, all the

commercial transactions between Great Britain and China. By this means the trade has been cherished and preserved through, and notwithstanding, many perils arising from circumstances apparently trivial, and the fatal consequences of which could only have been averted by the most delicate conduct, and by the whole commercial concerns of the British nation being confided to one united authority.

Your Petitioners feel it incumbent upon them to submit to this Honourable House an abstract of their financial operations since the arrangement contained in the above-mentioned act of the thirty-third year of the reign of His present Majesty was made. At that time the capital stock of your Petitioners amounted to the sum of £5,000,000: since that period, in pursuance of an act of Parliament passed for that purpose, the capital stock has been increased by the sum of £1,000,000, contributed by the subscribers at the rate of £200 per cent.

At the time when the act of the thirty-third of His Majesty * was passed, sundry debts, incurred in the defence and protection of the British possessions in India, bearing interest, were then due and owing by your petitioners, amounting to seven millions of pounds sterling, or thereabouts. Since that period the said debt has been very much increased for the same purpose, and great part of such increased debt was raised upon loans, by the terms of which the creditors were entitled to the option of being paid off in India, or by bills of exchange to be drawn upon London; and upon such obligations becoming due, your Petitioners have been obliged to provide, out of their funds and credit at home, the means of paying bills of exchange drawn upon them since the year 1807, to the amount of £10,902,924 sterling in discharge of Indian debt: and the debt contracted for political purposes, now remaining due in India, according to the latest advices from thence, amounts to the sum of £26,000,000, or thereabouts, over and besides the sum of £3,000,000 Re-

* 33 Geo. III., cap. 52, sec. 108.

duced three per cent. Annuities, and the sum of £1,400,000 Consolidated three per cent. Annuities, on which the sum of £2,500,000 sterling was raised, in pursuance of an act passed in the last session of Parliament, to enable your Petitioners to pay bills of exchange which had been drawn upon them from India, in part discharge of the Indian debt, as herein-before mentioned, and also over and besides the sum of £2,202,000, or thereabouts, now owing by your Petitioners upon bills of exchange not yet due, but payable in London, which have been drawn in India, in further part discharge of the said Indian debt.

That the revenues of the territorial acquisitions in India, in the possession of your Petitioners in the year 1793, amounted to the annual sum of £8,000,000, or thereabouts; and, by the latest accounts and estimates received from the East-Indies, the revenues of the territorial acquisitions, now in the possession of your Petitioners, amount to the annual sum of £16,000,000 or thereabouts: but the civil and military expences of the government have proportionably increased.

That the profits of the trade carried on by your Petitioners since the year 1793, to the latest period to which the accounts can be correctly estimated, have amounted to the sum of £6,289,405, over and above the commercial charges of your Petitioners, and beyond the payment of interest on their bond debt in England, and besides the dividends from time to time paid on the capital stock of your Petitioners, according to the directions of the said act of Parliament passed in the thirty-third year of the reign of His present Majesty.

That, in 1793, the bond debt in England of your Petitioners amounted to the sum of £3,200,000, or thereabouts: since which, by an act of Parliament passed in the year 1797 *, they have been empowered to raise money, by increasing their capital stock by the amount of £2,000,000; but your Petitioners have not availed themselves of that resource, but under the

* 37 Geo. III. cap. 31.

authority of several acts of Parliament *, they have raised money upon bond, and their bond debt in England now amounts to the sum of £5,409,325; but your Petitioners are entitled by law to issue bonds, to the amount of £7,000,000 in the whole.

That the annual interest upon the present amount of the Indian debt now amounts to the sum of £1,600,000, or thereabouts: and as, by the terms of the loans on which such money was raised, the creditors are entitled to receive their interest by payment of money in India, or by bills of exchange to be drawn and made payable in London, at rates favourable to the holders, and judging from the amount drawn within the last half year, your Petitioners estimate that the annual sum of £1,500,000, or thereabouts, will be necessary to be provided annually in London, for the payment of such interest: besides which, although the several sums of money payable in respect of the reduced and consolidated annuities (on which the said sum of £2,500,000 was raised by virtue of the said act of the last session of Parliament), for interest and sinking fund attendant thereon, amounting altogether to the annual sum of £242,820, are expressly charged upon the revenues of the territorial acquisitions in the East-Indies, yet your Petitioners are bound by the said act, at all events, to pay such sums of money into the Bank of England, in manner in the said act mentioned; and your Petitioners will also be obliged to provide in London the interest and other charges which may be attendant upon any further loan which may be necessary, in consequence of the said further sum of £2,202,000, part of the Indian debt, for which bills of exchange drawn upon your Petitioners are now outstanding; and it is estimated, that political charges (including payments to be made to the creditors of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic) consequential upon the Indian territory, to the annual amount of £910,000;

* 34 Geo. III. cap. 41; 47 Geo. III. cap. 41, sess. 2; 51 Geo. III., cap.

or thereabouts, will be to be defrayed in England; and as, from the best estimates which can be made, there appears but little reason to expect (without a considerable reduction of the military expences of your Petitioners in India) that there should be any sufficient surplus revenue to be remitted for those purposes, your Petitioners apprehend that the punctual discharge of the pecuniary obligations of your Petitioners, in relation thereto, as well as the payment of the interest upon their bond debt in England, and the dividends on their capital stock, will depend most essentially upon the trade to be carried on by your Petitioners.

That in pursuance of several acts of Parliament since 1807 *, your Petitioners have increased their bond debt in England, by the sum of £2,409,325; and, in pursuance of an act of Parliament passed in the fiftieth year of the reign of His present Majesty, your Petitioners have borrowed Exchequer bills of the public to the amount of £1,500,000; and, by virtue of an act passed in the last session of Parliament, as herein-before mentioned, your Petitioners raised on loan, by way of reduced and consolidated annuities, the sum of £2,500,000; and all such sums of money, together with the said sum of £6,289,405, which has arisen from the surplus profits of the trade carried on by your Petitioners, as herein-before mentioned, have been absorbed, by payment of debts and expences incurred in respect of the territorial acquisitions in India.

That in the expeditions on the part of the British nation against the European enemies of His Majesty, and by advances for His Majesty's navy, and other public services, your Petitioners have incurred very large expences, which, they submit, they are entitled to be reimbursed by the public: and your Petitioners compute, that after allowing such sum as your Petitioners are indebted to the Public for the loan of Exchequer bills, to the amount of £1,500,000, as herein-before

* 47 Geo. III. sess. 2., cap. 41; 51 Geo. III. cap. ; 50 Geo. III. cap. ; 52 Geo. III. cap. 135.

mentioned, pursuant to an act for that purpose passed in the last session of Parliament *, and after allowing such sums as your Petitioners are indebted to His Majesty for troops in India, and for recruiting, the sum of £2,294,426, at the least, will be found due to your Petitioners.

Your Petitioners have now exhibited, they hope with candour, the real situation of their affairs, and of the British trade and relations with the East-Indies and China. Your Petitioners do not presume to offer an opinion, whether any other arrangements, than those which have taken place, would have led to results equally, or more advantageous, than have arisen to their country: but they apprehend it to be quite undeniable, that the privileges entrusted to your Petitioners have produced a large quantity of positive benefit to the British empire; and they submit, that any material change in the Indian system would be matter of experiment, for which there can be no sufficient data from which its success can be calculated.

Your Petitioners feel it to be their duty to express to this Honourable House their sincere opinion, that the public interest cannot be better consulted, than by continuing your Petitioners as the sole organs and channel, both for the trade with and the government of India, upon the principles established by the act of the thirty-third year of His Majesty's reign, with such variations, as to the financial appropriations, and in some other points of detail, as present circumstances require and experience has pointed out. Your Petitioners ask not for an exclusive trade upon the narrow principles of monopoly, for the mere purpose of commercial gain; they have under their care interests of a much more extended and liberal nature, which it is their duty to attend to. Your Petitioners are ready to become parties to any arrangement, which shall be consistent with the rights of your Petitioners and the security of British India, and which will not deprive your Petitioners of the means of fulfilling their pecuniary en-

* 50 Geo. III. cap. 135; 52 Geo. III. cap.

gagements with the Public and individuals, or the performance of the functions which may be continued or allotted to them. They hope they will not be deemed presumptuous, in humbly submitting their opinion, considered and reconsidered, that the opening of the trade with China, in any degree, would endanger its existence altogether; and your Petitioners have, at no time, contemplated any alteration even in the export trade to the East-Indies, without considerable doubt and hesitation: but your Petitioners are firmly of opinion, that the unrestrained liberty of importation from that country, otherwise than through the medium of the establishments of your Petitioners in London, would produce effects, which every well-wisher to his country must deprecate, and which would put to extreme hazard any pledge, on the part of your Petitioners, for the good government of India or the performance of their obligations. Your Petitioners submit, that they would not be justified in becoming parties to any system, which, on consideration, should appear to them likely to prove an illusion.

As your Petitioners do not venture to anticipate what may be the determination of this Honourable House upon the question hereby submitted to its decision, your Petitioners hope, that they will be excused for humbly stating what, in the event of the dissolution of the present system, they conceive would be found to be the rights of your Petitioners, as well as their fair pretensions upon the justice and liberality of Parliament. The absolute right of your Petitioners, for their own use, to a considerable part of the forts, towns, islands, territories, and rights, which they have acquired abroad, never has been questioned, and your Petitioners believe it to be unquestionable; and notwithstanding the claim made for the Public to other parts of the territorial acquisitions and revenues of your Petitioners, they entertain a strong hope, that the property, as well in those parts which were acquired by conquest, under the powers of peace and war lawfully exercised by your Petitioners, as in those parts which were otherwise acquired, would be found to belong to

your Petitioners, in the same way as any other property within His Majesty's dominions belongs to the owners thereof, subject to the sovereignty and allegiance due to His Majesty: but even supposing it should be determined, contrary to the sense and expectations of your Petitioners touching their rights, that those places were not the property of your Petitioners, your Petitioners submit, that, in that case, if the possession were to be assumed on the part of the Public, your Petitioners would have a just right to reimbursement of the expences which they have incurred in acquiring and maintaining them, and in making the fortifications, and civil and military buildings and works which your Petitioners have erected and improved upon them, with a compensation for the services and risk of your Petitioners, during the long time which they have had the possession and government of such territories, under the confirmation of Parliament, and all other charges incurred by your Petitioners relative to such territories. These expences and charges amount to many millions of money. Your Petitioners also submit, that they have a just claim to be reimbursed all the sums they have paid, in discharge of debts contracted on account of the territories, and to be indemnified against all other debts in respect of them, and which now remain undischarged.

Your Petitioners do not question, as an abstract principle, the right of any of His Majesty's subjects, to trade with any part of His Majesty's dominions; but your Petitioners humbly submit, that it cannot be contended, that any persons can have a right, except with the consent of your Petitioners, to use the settlements, factories, and seats of trade, or to avail themselves of the means and facilities, moral and physical, which your Petitioners, at a great expence and risk, have created or acquired, and now, at great current charge, maintain, for the purposes of commerce and civil intercourse.

Your Petitioners, therefore, most humbly pray, that this Honourable House will take the premises into its consideration, and make such

provision, as in its wisdom, it shall see fit, for continuing the government of the territorial acquisitions in the East-Indies in your Petitioners, and for settling the trade to the East-Indies and China and other places, from the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, according to the present system; or that your Petitioners may have such relief in the premises as their case may require.

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

Copy of a further Petition from the EAST-INDIA COMPANY *to the Honorable* HOUSE OF COMMONS.

To the Honorable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled,

The humble Petition of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies,

SHEWETH:

That loans of very large sums of money have heretofore been raised in India, on the credit of your Petitioners, for the defence and protection of the British possessions there, by the terms of which loans the creditors were entitled to the option of being paid off in India, or by bills of exchange to be drawn upon London; and upon, and in consequence of such obligations becoming due, bills to the amount of £13,104,924 have been drawn, since the year 1807, upon your Petitioners, payable in London, and the sum of £10,902,924, part of the said sum of £13,104,924, has been discharged by your Petitioners,

and £2,202,000, residue thereof, now remains outstanding, and the larger part of the bills drawn for the same will become due previous to the month of March 1814.

That, for the purpose of enabling your Petitioners to pay the said bills of exchange which they have so discharged to the amount of £10,902,924 they borrowed Exchequer bills of the Public, to the amount of £1,500,000 in pursuance of an act of parliament passed in the fiftieth year of the reign of His present Majesty, entitled, "An Act for granting to His Majesty a sum "of Money to be raised by Exchequer Bills, and to "be advanced and applied, in the Manner and upon "the Terms therein mentioned, for the Relief of the "United Company of Merchants of England trading "to the East Indies:" and your Petitioners also raised the sum of £2,500,000 upon reduced three pounds per centum, annuities and consolidated three pounds per centum annuities, respectively, transferable at the Bank of England, in pursuance of an act of parliament made and passed in the fifty-second year of His Majesty's reign, entitled, "An Act for advancing £2,500,000 to "the East-India Company, to enable them to discharge part of the Indian Debt."

That, by another act of parliament, made and passed in the fifty-second year of the reign of His present Majesty, entitled, "An Act to amend an Act of the fiftieth year of His present Majesty, for granting a "Sum of Money to be raised by Exchequer Bills, to "be advanced and applied, in the manner and upon "the terms therein mentioned, for the Relief of the "United Company of Merchants of England, trading "to the East Indies," it is enacted, that it shall be lawful for the Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury or any three or more of them, to carry to the credit of your Petitioners, in repayment of the sums advanced under the provisions of the said act of parliament of the fiftieth year of the reign of His present Majesty, any sum or sums of money which should have been advanced or disbursed by your Petitioners in the East Indies for His Majesty's navy or any public services.

That your Petitioners compute, that, after allowing in account such sum as your Petitioners are indebted to His Majesty for the loan of the said Exchequer Bills, that the sum of £2,294,426 at the least, is now due to your Petitioners, in respect of money which has been advanced or disbursed by your Petitioners in the East Indies for His Majesty's navy and other public services.

That, by virtue of an act of parliament passed in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of His present Majesty, entitled, "An Act to enable the East-India Company "to raise money by further increasing their capital "stock, and to extend the provisions now existing "respecting the present stock of the Company, to the "said increased stock," your Petitioners are now authorized to raise money by increasing their capital stock by the sum of £2,000,000 but your Petitioners have not raised any money in exercise of the powers contained in the said act.

That your Petitioners are now authorised by law to raise money in England upon bonds, to the amount of seven millions, and your Petitioners have now issued bonds to the amount of £5,409,325 and are at liberty to issue further bonds to the further amount of £1,590,675: and by an act passed in the fifty-first year of the reign of His present Majesty, entitled, "An Act to enable the East India Company to raise "a further sum of money upon bond, instead of in"creasing their capital stock, and to alter and amend "an act passed in the forty-seventh year of the reign "of His present Majesty relative thereto," it is provided, that when your Petitioners shall have raised, under and by virtue of the said act of the thirty-seventh year of the reign of His present Majesty, and of the said act of the forty-seventh year of the reign of His present Majesty and of that act, such sums of money as together should amount to the sum of four millions sterling, from thenceforth it should not be lawful for your Petitioners to raise any further sum of money upon bond; and all money which, from thenceforth, should be raised by in-

crease of capital stock, under and by virtue of the said first-mentioned act, should be applied in discharge of the said bond debt, until the said bond debt, created by virtue of the said act of the forty-seventh year of the reign of his Majesty, or of that act, together with the money to be raised by increase of capital as aforesaid, should be reduced to the sum of four millions sterling.

That, upon an estimate of the probable receipts and payments of your Petitioners in England, including amongst the receipts the said sum of £2,294,426 so due from the Public to your Petitioners, as herein-before mentioned, it appears that it will be advantageous and necessary to the concerns of your Petitioners, that they should be authorised to raise the sum of £2,500,000 on loan, in a different manner from that in which they may now raise money, for the purpose of enabling them to discharge the said bills of exchange, to the amount of £2,202,000 drawn in liquidation of the Indian debt, to provide for their other current payments, and to enable your Petitioners, as circumstances may render it advisable, to reduce the amount of their bond debt, without increasing their capital stock.

Your Petitioners therefore most humbly pray, that this Honourable House will be pleased to direct the payment of the said sum of £2,294,426 so due by the Public to your Petitioners, as herein-before is mentioned, and to grant to your Petitioners such relief in the premises, as to this Honourable House shall seem meet.

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

REPORT *of the* COMMITTEE *of* CORRESPONDENCE *of the* EAST-INDIA COMPANY, *dated 9th February* 1813.

The President of the India Board having, in his recent letter of the 4th January, referred the Court to the petitions presented to Parliament in the course of last session, from the Merchants and Manufacturers connected with the Outports, for fuller information than had been then imparted to the Court, concerning the representations which had induced His Majesty's Ministers to be of opinion, that the import trade from the East-Indies should not be confined to the Port of London, your Committee determined on examining those petitions, as they stand recorded in the votes of the House of Commons. But, in going into this task, your Committee found, that it involved a review of all the petitions lately preferred against a renewal of the Company's Charter, because the arguments in favour of the Outports were interspersed through them. The whole of those petitions have, therefore, been perused; and one remark, which immediately presents itself on that perusal,—a remark entitled, in the opinion of your Committee, to particular attention,—is, that those arguments in behalf of the Outports are, in a very material degree, the arguments which are directly urged for the abolition of the whole of the Company's exclusive commercial privileges; and the claims of the Outports are contended for, as a part of the entire freedom in the Eastern trade, which is demanded for all the subjects of the empire. The places, especially, which are strictly Outports, proceed in their petitions upon principles which arraign every species and degree of monopoly; and it is chiefly from those principles that they deduce, as a consequence, the right of the Outports to a free participation in Indian imports. But as, in the deliberate and just opinion of His Majesty's Ministers, those principles and argu-

ments are not valid for the main claim of the Petitioners, it is to be presumed, that neither can they, in the same opinion, be valid for the subordinate claim of the Outports, so far as it is rested on the same foundations, which, however, are the foundations built on by the generality of the Petitions. The few remaining arguments on this question, relate, principally, to the facility and certainty with which the revenue may be collected at the Outports, and to the safety with which the honourable men, composing the commercial class of this country, may be admitted to all the settlements and countries of the East. But these are mere assertions of opinion, to be classed with the "untried theories" of the time, and, as far as the light of experience goes, opposed by it. If they were even proved, which they are in no degree, they would not, by any means, satisfy all the great interests abroad and at home, which are involved in the question of the Outports; and therefore your Committee are entirely at a loss to discover, how the arguments in favour of those ports, as they stand in the petitions to Parliament, resting chiefly on principles which His Majesty's Government do not admit, have so presented themselves to the Ministers, as, in their view, "to establish "a claim against an absolute restriction of the import "trade to the port of London;" or how, from the *ex-parte* representations of those petitions, which proceed on the demand of an entire liberty of trade to India and China, a demand resisted by His Majesty's Government, any clear definite idea is to be obtained of that degree of "liberty of trade, which the merchants may enjoy, "without injury to other important national interests." And hence your Committee humbly conceive, that this problem, so important in its nature, namely, the measure of further liberty which may be safely granted, still remains to be solved, and requires deliberate and accurate investigation.

These remarks may, perhaps, receive some confirmation, from the succinct view which your Committee, enlarging somewhat their first design, are now about to submit, of the principal matters contained in

the petitions for the abolition of the Company's commercial privileges, and of the answers to which they are obviously liable. Although the same allegations, which are thus urged, have often been combated, it may be proper, on account of the channel in which they now come forward, and of the publicity of the present discussion, to give some distinct reply to them, which will, at least, further evince the disposition of the Court to shrink from no charge, and to shun no inquiry.

All the material objections which appear in those petitions to the renewal of the Company's charter, may be comprised under the following heads:—

1st.—That commercial monopolies, especially if extensive and long continued, are, in their nature, and according to the experience of past ages, inexpedient, impolitic, and unjust; and that the monopoly of a joint stock company must be managed with negligence, waste, and prodigality, unlikely to be practised by private merchants. (Some of the petitions admit, that monopolies may be tolerated in the beginnings of trade.)

2d.—That the monopoly of the East-India Company has been injurious to the nation, great evils having resulted from it:—that it is inadequate to an extended trade; has locked up national capital; has retarded improvement; has not advanced trade, nor carried it to many countries within the Company's limits:—that it cools the ardour of generous and liberal competition; has deprived the woollen manufacturers of Gloucester, Wiltshire, Exeter, Shrewsbury, and the manufactures of other places; some, of supplying an immense population; others, of preparing articles for China, on lower terms than the Company allow; others, of carrying on trade with India and the countries north of it; others of receiving orders, infinitely beyond what they now obtain from the East-India Company:—that it is (particularly in the opinion of the Staffordshire potters) unfavourable to the introduction of *new articles*:—

that its exports to the East do not amount to a fifth of the exports of this country to America:—that all ideas of participation in the profits of a monopoly trade, by payment into the Exchequer, ever will be vain and illusory; of which the disappointment of the nation, in regard to the Company, is a complete illustration:—that the intention of opening the trade will be frustrated, by leaving the Company any controul over private trade:—that it is proved, by undeniable documents, that if the trade be allowed to remain under its present restrictions, it will languish, decay, and pass into the hands of other states:—that it must, if continued, *diminish* the sources of private wealth and national revenue:—that the reasonings in favour of the monopoly proceed from narrow, partial views, have been demonstrated fallacious, and will apply equally to every other branch of British commerce:—that it is humiliating to individuals, degrading to the national character, and a national grievance.

3d.—That, notwithstanding the *increase* of the Company's territories, their trade has *decreased*, though protected from enemies and hostile rivalry: —that, since the renewal of the Charter in 1793, they have added greatly to their debt:—that the pecuniary participation held out to the country in 1793, has not been realized, but has been converted by the East India Company into repeated claims on the public purse and credit, for enormous sums to support their establishments; and that further, and still greater pecuniary assistance is now required, to avert embarrassments, in which they may be soon involved.

4th.—That a full and free right to trade to and with all countries and people in amity with His Majesty, and more particularly those countries *acquired and maintained by the efforts and valour of the forces of His Majesty*, is naturally the undoubted birthright and inheritance of the people of this empire, of every subject of it, and every

port in it; and that the unrestrained exercise of that right is essentially necessary to the maintenance of the manufacturers, and prosperity of the commerce of this country:—that the confinement of the Eastern trade to the port of London, would be a violation of that right, at once unnecessary, unjust, and impolitic:—unnecessary, because the duties may be collected with greater ease and less loss by pilferage in the Outports, the taxes on West-Indian and American produce being now collected with known safety:—unjust, because every mercantile place in the United Kingdom is entitled to the same privileges.—and impolitic, because the superior economy and dispatch that prevail in the Outports, are requisite to secure an equality with foreign nations. In these claims for the Outports, there is a general concurrence in the petitions from Plymouth, Glasgow, Paisly, Dundee, Arbroath, Leith, Edinburgh, Belfast, Bristol, Liverpool, and Hull; of which three last mentioned places Bristol and Liverpool state, that they have, in contemplation of the opening of the trade to India, enlarged their docks; and Hull, that there should be no restraint as to the size of vessels to be admitted into the Indian trade.

5th. That no satisfactory reason can be assigned, why the trade to China should not be opened:—that the difficulty apprehended in collecting the tea duties is ideal:—that the British character forbids injurious suspicions, as to inconveniences in India and China from opening the trade:—that, in the avowed opinion of one set of petitioners, the merchants of this country should be allowed to trade directly from the East to the British West-Indies; and another set claim, that the products of the East shall, without being first landed in this kingdom, be transported to the British West-Indies, the American colonies, and all other countries south of Cape Finisterre, and within the Mediterranean.

6th. That the existing monopoly has, contrary

to reason and justice, led to a singular peculiarity,—the concession of privileges to foreign nations in amity with his Majesty, which are rigorously denied to merchants of the British empire; or, according to others, that the trade is open to *all the world* except British merchants:—that the American States have long enjoyed this trade, at the expence of our own people, employing British capital, and compelling the Company to shrink from competition:—that they have engrossed a great part of this trade, and also of that to China, which the Company formerly possessed:—that the American merchants, being unfettered, have undersold the Company in the markets of Europe, have deprived them of those markets, and also the markets of South America, the West Indies, the Mediterranean, and Malta, whilst the English trade has become less extensive and profitable:—that the example of the citizens of the United States, who have evinced the superiority of individual industry, when opposed to the negligence and prodigality of a joint stock company, and the delays and abuses of their concerns, proves the competency of British individuals to carry on an extensive commerce to the East Indies, China, and other countries within the Charter of the Company:—that the monopoly is favorable to foreigners, injurious to British subjects, and its abolition necessary, to enable British merchants to meet neutrals, and other foreigners, in fair competition with the products of the East in their own markets: or, at least, according to others, that British subjects should be put on a footing with foreigners in this trade.

7th. That the distresses and privations of the manufacturing and trading classes (distresses aggravated, say some, by the monopoly of the East India Company), under the continental system of Bonaparte, the disputes with America, the exclusion from usual markets, the stagnation or decline of trade, are grievous:—that the mercantile, ma-

nufacturing, and shipping interests, all suffer:—that the country is burthened with great naval and military establishments:—and that, under such hardships, pressures, and exclusions, every possible relief is wanted, and new sources of trade ought to be looked for; and that, on account of the existing war, and for the maintenance of our naval superiority, and the preservation of our commercial, maritime, and financial interests, an open trade is necessary.

8th. That it is a well ascertained fact, that during the time of the Protectorate, there were men who boldly violated the Company's Charter, and carried on the trade with such success, that they were able to sell the commodities of the East in the different markets of Europe, on lower terms than had ever been known; and, at this day, individual merchants have traded to India with profit, even under all the difficulties, delays, and taxes imposed upon them by the Company:—that the private trade has continued to increase, although fettered with many restrictions; but that these restrictions deter people, unacquainted with India, and residing at home, from engaging in the trade:—that a free trade to the East would be a measure admirably calculated for removing present evils, would be a substitute for the loss of European commerce, an equivalent for all other markets, and would necessarily open new and extensive markets; a field greater than any other country offers, and beyond the grasp of the enemy; a field to British skill, industry, and enterprize, and to capital, otherwise useless, whilst the national resources are stunted:—that thousands, who are now reduced to idleness and poverty, might be actively engaged:—that the capital, spirit, and *knowledge* of British merchants, are unbounded:—that a free trade to India would turn the wealth acquired by the foreign merchant into the pockets of the subjects of this country; would excite a fair emulation to bring all the produce of the East to its proper level in the home market, to the great benefit of this

country; would enable our manufacturers, with more advantage, to exert their skill and industry to produce new articles of trade, and to give full employment to the operative classes of the community: would circulate the trade, now confined to London, through every part of the United Kingdom; would be the means of increasing our maritime strength, our financial resources, and the wealth and glory of the British Empire. Such is the general tenor of the petitions on this head; but the language of the one from Sheffield is so animated and sanguine, that it may not be improper to transcribe a part of it. "The petitioners are fully persuaded, it the trade "to the East Indies were thrown open to all His "Majesty's subjects, such new and abundant mar-"kets, would be discovered and established, as "would enable them to set at defiance every ef-"fort to injure them, by that sworn enemy to "their prosperity and the peace of Europe, the "present unprincipled ruler of France; and that "the petitioners doubt not, if the trade of this "United Kingdom were permitted to flow unim-"peded over those extensive, luxuriant, and opu-"lent regions, though it might, in the outset, like "a torrent represt and swoln by obstruction, when "its sluices were first opened, break forth with "uncontroulable impetuosity, deluging, instead "of supplying the district before it, yet that very "violence, which, at the beginning, might be "partially injurious, would, in the issue, prove "highly and permanently beneficial; no part be-"ing unvisited, the waters of commerce, that "spread over the face of the land, as they sub-"sided, would wear themselves channels, through "which they might continue to flow ever after-"wards, in regular and fertilizing streams; and "that, to the wealthy, enterprizing, honorable, "and indefatigable British merchant, conducting "in person his own concerns, no obstacle would "prove insurmountable, no prejudice invincible, "no difficulty disheartening: wants, where he

"found them, he would supply; where they did "not exist, he would create them, by affording "the means of gratification."

9th. That the imagined hardship of depriving the Company of the only lucrative branch of their trade, that to China, will be alleviated, by the wealth, influence, knowledge, and experience, which, in their united capacity, they will still be enabled to oppose to the unassisted efforts of private merchants;—that if, indeed, the Company can carry on trade to greater advantage than the private merchants, they have nothing to fear; they will reap their merited reward by the benefit of competition; and without competition, neither would commerce have risen to its present standard, nor will it increase to bear the increasing expences of the nation:—And with respect to the danger of excessive speculation, it is said by Glasgow to be imaginary, because the enterprize of individuals is uniformly limited by their means and success; because any evil of this nature is temporary, and checks itself; and that, *the very worst that can occur, in the event of the abandonment of the trade by the public, would be, that matters would again return to their present state.* On all the grounds, therefore, stated in the petitions, they in general require a full and entire freedom of trade to the Eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, including China, and all the countries within the Charter of the East India Company: *and, for the means of indemnifying or remunerating the claims of the Company*, one petition proposes, "*a fair and equal impost on the trade in question.*""

Your Committee having thus submitted an abstract, under different heads, of the contents of the petitions, in which abstract, they are persuaded, nothing material is omitted, will now proceed to offer some observations on each of those heads.

And *first*,—With regard to the doctrine of monopolies in general, your Committee do not conceive, that they are much called upon to enter into any discussion

of it; because, what is termed the monopoly of the East India Company is, as it now exists and has long existed, an institution of a singular nature, formed upon principles peculiar to itself, not merely or chiefly for the purposes of trade, and must be examined with reference to the ends of its institution, and the importance of those ends, which will be the subject of the next article. In the mean time, it may be observed upon this first head, that the ablest writers on political economy, and the most strenuous against monopolies, have not condemned them simply and universally, as most of the petitions now in question do. Even Dr. Adam Smith acquiesces in the establishment of the chartered Banks of England and Scotland, which are species of monopoly; and he praises the Act of Navigation, which is founded on the principle of exclusive privilege. He admits, also, the propriety of a temporary monopoly of new machines and new books; and what is more immediately to the present purpose, he grants, in agreement with Montesquieu and others, as some of the petitioners seem also candidly to allow, that "when "a company of merchants (to use his own words) undertake at their own risk and expense, to establish a "new trade with some remote and barbarous nation, it "may not be unreasonable to incorporate them into a "joint stock company, and to grant them a monopoly, in case of their success, for a certain number "of years. It is the easiest and most natural way in "which a State can recompence them for hazarding a "dangerous and expensive experiment, of which the "public is afterwards to reap the benefit." But, even in this proposition, it may be observed, that the interests of the two parties, the company of merchants and the public, seem scarcely to be equally cared for. The privilege given by the State is a privilege for its own benefit, which is to cost it nothing, should the experiment fail: and of which it is to enjoy the permanent advantage, if the experiment succeed. It is safe from loss; and besides its share of what present advantage there may be, is to have ultimately the fee-simple of all the gain that may result. Undoubtedly, in this case,

the terms of enjoyment by the merchants, after all the season of hazard and vicissitude is past, should be ample; and it were to be wished, that those who are now so eager to take gratuitous possession of all the commercial establishments, formed at such immense risks and expence by the East-India Company, would consider more equitably than the language of their petition does, the fair claims of a body, even if regarded merely in a commercial light, who have hitherto been working through a long series of time, of difficulties, and dangers, to the vast benefit of the nation, whilst their own fair compensation yet remains to be obtained.

Secondly.—With respect to that species of exclusive privilege, called the East-India Company's monopoly, your Committee cannot begin their remarks upon the accusations brought against it, without lamenting the surprising want of information which the generality of the petitioners discover, relative to the Company's system, conduct, and affairs, and, your Committee are compelled to add, a mortifying defect of attention, also, regarding things that could not possibly be unknown to the petitioners. They treat the whole question of the *monopoly*, as if it were purely a commercial question; as if it involved no higher question of policy, as if it stood unconnected with the acquisition, the government, and the preservation of a great Indian empire; and as if, from its political relations, the question concerning it had no bearing on the British constitution. Thus, say some of the petitioners, "the "reasonings in favour of the monopoly proceed from "narrow, partial views, demonstrated to be fallacious, "and which will apply equally to every other branch "of British commerce," whereas it is abundantly obvious, that the exclusive commercial privileges enjoyed by the Company in the Indian trade (however well entitled they are to them on other accounts), are contended for by them, and have been continued by the Legislature, mainly because deemed to be necessary for the political government of India, and not at all on account of any pecuniary participation, which one of the

petitions erroneously assumes to be now in question. The same cause, also, was understood to require the continuance of the China monopoly, though that privilege stands upon other irrefragable grounds, as the unlimited admission of British ships into any quarter of the Eastern Seas could not be thought compatible with the system adopted for the security of our eastern territorial possessions. The commercial monopoly therefore is, in a word, an instrument in the hands of the Company, for the political government of India. Such, it has been maintained by them, and admitted by Ministers, in the discussions respecting the Charter, to be; but this great truth, either as a fact or as a principle, is unnoticed in the petitions. Some of the petitioners are, indeed, so just as to recollect, that the India Company have territorial rights, and to say that it is not their wish to trench on them; but they do not seem to be aware, that those rights can be enjoyed only through the medium of commercial privileges, or that any provision can be made for securing them, compatibly with their own claims for an universal opening of the Eastern trade. The petitioners proceed, not only as if the renewal of the priviliges in the Indian trade were merely a question of commerce, but as if it were a question of strict monopoly, such as was agitated in King William's time. To the admission given to private merchants into the Indian trade by the act of 1793, enlarged by the arrangement of 1802, and in practice occasionally still further extended (not to speak of the considerable privileges enjoyed by the commanders and officers of the Company's ships), the petitioners do not advert, except to blame the Company for the alleged inefficiency of all those concessions, which, in reality, greatly relaxed the monopoly, and made it what the late Lord Melville called a regulated, or qualified monopoly. In thus censuring the Company, the petitioners resort to some representations formerly brought against them, and sufficiently answered on their part; except in respect to the irregular dispatch of the extra ships from India, a matter originating with the governments there from the political circumstances of the times; but that contro-

versy is now past, and quite irrelevant to the present state of things; for another point to be held up to particular attention is, that the Company have lately acquiesced in vastly larger concessions, that is, in a general trade between the United Kingdom and India, through the port of London. Yet this new and great change in the Indian system, the petitioners too generally overlook. That it has ever attracted their notice, is only to be inferred from their contending, that the trade shall be general to all the ports of the kingdom; but in their attacks upon the Company, they act as if the whole original structure of the monopoly were still standing and obstinately defended, and when the Company acquiesce in large relaxations, the petitioners nevertheless persist in charging them with all the evils of the most rigid monopoly, for the purpose, as it would seem, of aggravating the case against the Company in the eyes of Parliament and of the public, and strengthening the prejudices, which so much pains have been taken to diffuse. Thus the political part of the Company's system, and its intimate connection with the commerce, is left entirely out of sight; and the present state of the Company's commercial privileges is not accurately represented, nor the actual state of the question, concerning the future measure of those privileges, fairly brought into view.

But it ought to be again and again pressed upon the public attention, that the first and great object, in any new arrangement for India, is not commercial, but political; and that the safe and beneficial administration of that empire is a consideration paramount to all others. No one has denied, either that the Company have conducted, and do conduct the administration, to the great improvement of the security and happiness of the vast population that empire contains; or that the government of it should remain with them, and consequently that the means requisite to enable them to continue to execute so great a trust, should also be afforded. The nature and extent of those means form, therefore, the precise question now at issue: but on this important point, as has been already intimated, the petitions in

general are quite silent, and the propositions contained in them go to deprive the Company wholly of those means, particularly the monopoly of the China trade, the reasons for continuing which will be explained in a subsequent head.

With regard to the effects of the monopoly on the manufactures, trade, and other interests of this country, if any thing said in these days to the discredit of the Company would occasion surprize, it would be the representations given in the petitions on that head. The Company are accused of obstructing the export of the manufactures of this country, even by some (with an honourable exception of the rest) of those woollen manufacturers, who have owed their chief employment to the Company's commissions, continued for the benefit of the nation, under a certainty of deriving no profit from the exported article.

Of those "undeniable documents," by which one of the petitions, in an authoritative style, affirms, "it is "proved, that if the trade be allowed to remain under "its present restrictions, it will languish, decay, and "pass into the hands of other states; that the mono-"poly must, if continued, *diminish* the resources of "private wealth and of national revenue," your Committee have never heard, and they cannot conceive, that any such documents exist. It is more probable, that the petitioners have put their own sense upon the statements of the Company, which furnish the most authentic materials in this case, and if fairly examined, with a reference to other relative circumstances, will lead to conclusions directly opposite. The subject of the American trade to India, which seems chiefly alluded to, will be discussed in the sequel. That trade, as will hereafter more fully appear, has owed its increase essentially to the state of war, in which this nation has been placed for a long series of years past. If the American trade with India were still going on, a much easier and juster remedy for the alleged evils of it could be found, than the extinction of the Company's remaining commercial privileges. But these heavy forebodings are pronounced, when America, and every

European nation (the distressed one of Portugal excepted) are actually wholly excluded from the Indian Seas.

There seems to be a general and deplorable delusion, respecting the practicability of a vast extension of the sale of the manufactures of this country in India and China, and of the productions of those countries here. This question will be the immediate object of a following article; but your Committee may, in the mean time, confidently say, that the Company have, in a long course of years, made more numerous, persevering, costly experiments, in attempting to push the vent of British commodities, particularly woollens and metals, in the east, than the means, the resources, the safety of private merchants, are likely to enable them to make. The Correspondence of the Company with their servants abroad, at different periods, on this interesting concern, would fill many volumes. That the East-India Company, far from impeding the prosperity of the country, as the petitions, in opposition to history and experience, allege, have, by means of their monopoly, essentially, contributed to its wealth and its greatness, it will be much more easy to shew than to discover; accurately, where the limit of the advantages resulting from their institution is to be fixed. They gave a very early impulse to the manufactures and trade of this country. They opened a new commerce, not with the East only, but, by means of their returns from thence, with foreign Europe. They soon increased the ship-building, and improved the navigation of the kingdom; both which they have in latter times, carried to a degree of advancement, that has made their fleets serviceable in the wars of the nation, and the commanders successful, in adding to the naval glory of their country. Against the jealous rivalship of the Portuguese and Dutch, they, through a long course of hostilities from a superior force, maintained for this nation a share in the Indian trade; they preserved it from being totally lost, amidst all the convulsions of the civil wars; they outlived even the more dangerous innovations of subsequent periods; they upheld in India, the national in-

terests, against the ambitious designs of European enemies, and the despotic violence of native powers; and, in a long and arduous struggle, maintained, with little exception, at their own expence, they acquired a territorial empire for the mother country, which exalted its rank in the scale of nations. They have, since, expelled every European nation, except our ally of Portugal, from the Indian Continent and Ocean; and they have given a better government, to an immensely extended empire, than the East ever saw before.

In all this progress, not the ability and wisdom of their civil servants only have been conspicuous, but the talents and valour of their military officers have signally added to the glory and renown of the British nation. By those officers a grand army has been formed of native troops, in discipline, attachment, and efficiency, a just subject of admiration; and from the time of the first Clive downward, the exploits performed by the Company's military servants in India, equal, in brilliancy, those recorded in any period of modern history.

To all these public benefits is to be added the direct wealth, with which the Company have been the means of enriching the nation. The amount of these contributions, consisting in the profits of manufacturers, ship-builders and tradesmen, ship-owners and officers, servants and labourers, miners, re-exporters of Eastern productions to foreign parts, and other descriptions of persons gaining by the Company's trade, in dividends to proprietors, payments to Government, and the influx of private fortunes acquired in India, especially in the last fifty-five years, may perhaps be moderately estimated at one hundred millions sterling. Such are the injuries, the grievances, the evils,—such the degradation, which the East-India Company have brought on the country!

Thirdly.—The charges under the third head are nothing more than groundless accusations, calculated to render the Company unpopular; and, except the first article, which is new, have been often answered. As to this article, it is not true that, on the whole, the

Company's imports have decreased, although the sales have, in some years, fallen off, by the exclusion of British commodities from the European Continent; an evil common to all the merchants of this country, but now the occasion of a charge against the Company. And what virtue can the expulsion of enemies and rivals from the Indian Seas have to increase trade, if, when merchandize is brought to Europe, there is only a tardy and diminished sale for it? Again, is it a thing of course, that recently acquired provinces, impoverished, unsettled, containing a people every way dissimilar to us, should purchase our commodities, when the inhabitants of other parts of Hindostan, where we have been settled for ages, have still so little relish for them? The stipulation in the Act of 1793, for a pecuniary participation by the Public, was a conditional stipulation, depending on a contingency, which has never become a reality, but in one year, that immediately following the last renewal of the Charter. The long war, in which, with hardly any intermission, this country has been engaged, ever since 1793, has, by increasing the Company's expences, beyond the most extravagant supposition that could have been previously formed on that head, absorbed all the expected success of accumulation. Of this, every Administration since 1794 has been sensible; but the same utterly groundless charge continues to be repeated. This "promised participation," say some of the petitions, "has been converted by the "Company into repeated claims on the public purse "and credit for enormous sums, to support their esta-"blishments:" a most unfounded statement. The Company have never had occasion to apply for aid to support their establishments; their applications to Parliament have either been in consequence of levies by Government on the score of participation in the territorial revenues, or for reimbursement of immense sums expended for the State in military expeditions, sums very tardily acknowledged, and not yet fully paid: or to enable the Company to meet the transfer of Indian territorial debt to this country; a debt not in-

creased by their order, or according to their wish, though the petitions charge the increase to them, but sanctioned by His Majesty's Government and by Parliament; a debt, which, every intelligent person knows, it never was, or can be possible, in the nature of things, to discharge out of the Company's commercial funds, and therefore most unjustly made a ground of accusation against them.

Fourthly.—The claim to a full and free trade, as the right, by birth and inheritance, of every subject of this realm, and the arguments in favor of extending it to the Outports, are contained under the fourth head.

With regard to the general position on which the arguments are founded, little need be said. It is an obvious principle, that men, living in society, must submit to the laws of the society, and to restraints upon their natural liberty, when the public interest, in the opinion of the legislative authority, requires it. The Indian monopoly was at first established, because it was thought beneficial to the commercial interests of the country. It was long continued on the same principle: now it is more a political than a commercial question. It may be stated thus: Whether it be more for the interest of the nation, to maintain the Indian empire under the system which has hitherto preserved and improved it,—a system greatly relaxed as to the trade with India, and which has also preserved a lucrative commercial intercourse with China,—or to adopt a system of entirely free commercial communication with both countries, at the hazard of losing that empire and the China trade, or of rendering the tranquillity and retention of the one, and the enjoyment of the other, less secure? Until this question, or one reduced to still lower terms, namely, Whether it would be prudent, for the sake of the object in view, to run any hazard, where the stake is so great? is solved in favor of an open trade, the plea of natural inherent right has no title to be heard. No such solution has yet been produced. It has, on the contrary, been shewn, that dangers and disadvantages, both in the East and at home, would attend the opening of the

trade; but it has not been shown, that any measures, which have been suggested as preventives, would be at all effectual. No adequate provision, therefore, against those dangers and disadvantages is yet proposed; hence, it may fairly be presumed, none has been found. But, until such a remedy is discovered, the present system ought not to be overturned. The opening of the Outports would, according to the unanswered reasonings of the Court, have this effect. The opening of a part of the Outports would lead to the same effect, though perhaps by a somewhat slower progress; for it would immediately reduce and derange the periodical public sales of the Company, which is the master-wheel in the mechanism of their import trade. His Majesty's Ministers, in not proposing to open all the Outports, both admit the contingency of danger from such a measure, and set aside the argument of universal inherent right: but it remains utterly unproved, that danger would not result from opening even a few Outports, especially if the export trade is allowed to all; and that, after any had been so privileged, which would be in effect a monopoly against the rest, those others would ever be quiet, until they also were admitted: so that the whole of the danger will follow from the first step, and ought to be contemplated accordingly. It may just be observed, that the quality ascribed to certain countries, as giving the petitioners more particularly a right to a free trade with them, the quality of having been "acquired "and maintained by the efforts and valour of the "forces of His Majesty," properly appertains neither to Hindostan nor to China, and that the territories held by the Company were acquired under exclusive powers and privileges received from the Legislature.

Upon the same ground of natural inherent right, and of the necessity of the exercise of that right, as essential to the maintenance of the manufactures and commercial prosperity of the country, is placed the claim of the Outports to a free importation of goods from India and China. Under the fourth head, therefore, your Committee have collected the strength of

the arguments contained in the petitions in support of this claim; arguments to which the President of the India Board was pleased to refer the Court. The argument of inherent right has been already considered: the other arguments, which may be given in the words of the Glasgow petition, are, "that the "confinement of the Indian imports to the port of "London would be unnecessary, impolitic, and un- "just:—unnecessary, because, first, the ideal diffi- "culty of collecting the taxes is fully obviated, by "the known safety with which the duties are levied "on articles of West-Indian and American produce, "and secondly, because the duties may be collected "with greater ease, and less loss from pilferage, in "the Outports; unjust, because every mercantile "place in the kingdom is entitled to the same privi- "leges; and impolitic, because the superior economy "and dispatch that prevail at the Outports, are re- "quisite to secure an equality with foreign nations."

On the second of these three arguments it may be observed, that the claim of all the Outports to a participation in the Indian trade, as matter of equal right, stands upon the same principle as the claim of all individuals, which has just been considered, and must be determined in the same way and order; it therefore demands no farther notice here. If it shall be judged, that no larger interest than that of the Outports opposes their claim, then, and then only, will it be entitled to attention.

The first argument is, the known safety, and greater facility, with which duties are collected at the Outports. Whether that facility be, in fact, greater or not, it is needless to examine. If it were indeed so, it would still leave undecided a much more important question,—the danger of smuggling. On that danger the Court have enlarged, in their letters to the President of the India Board, of 13th January 1809, and 15th and 29th April 1812. Your Committee cannot but hope, that these letters will be perused by Members of Parliament, as their contents are material to a just consideration of the subject. The Court have respect-

fully stated to Lord Buckinghamshire, that no adequate answer has been given to these letters: his Lordship, in addition to what he has himself said, has referred the Court to the petitions. The argument just quoted is the most direct, and indeed the only one to the point, which your Committee have discovered in all the petitions. But it does not meet the main objections of the Court, taken from the dangers of smuggling: they remain untouched and unnoticed. Those dangers were contemplated, upon the supposition that only the opening of the Indian trade was in question; and in this way your Committee will now consider them, reserving to a future article some remarks on the still greater danger of smuggling which would follow, if the China monopoly were abolished, and which would be experienced, whilst our merchants were permitted to visit China at all. It is from the facilities of smuggling tea, that ships cleared out for, or from India, would find in the Eastern Islands, in the voyage home, and on the coasts of Scotland and Ireland, that the Court have apprehended the chief dangers would arise. In the Eastern Islands there are no custom-houses, clearances, manifests. There are great ranges of coasts in the remoter parts of the United Kingdom where there is no custom-house; bulk might be broken, and no detection follow where the ship should afterwards be regularly entered. It does not in the least follow, that these evils might not happen, though it should be true, that the taxes on West-Indian and American commodities are safely collected; for these commodities come generally in very large unwieldy casks or packages, are, in proportion to their bulk, of much less value than tea, which is also packed in small portable cases, and they come from countries abounding with regular custom-houses, whence they cannot sail without manifests and clearances: yet, with all these safeguards, your Committee are credibly informed, that the Americans find means to smuggle tea into this country. But, even supposing ships came direct to an Outport, without having broken bulk, what comparison is there between the collection of duties at any port, provin-

cial or metropolitan, and the collection of tea duties with perfect certainty, facility, and a very trifling expence, at the India-House? The objections stated at large in the Court's letters, your Committee beg leave to repeat, remain without any sound answer; and it is extremely material to observe, that the opinions maintained in them, on this subject, are corroborated, by the reports which the Boards of Customs and Excise have made to His Majesty's Ministers, respecting the danger that would arise to the revenue, from the adoption of the new system: a danger which, in their judgment, would be inevitable.

The third argument urged in their petitions is taken from the necessity of securing an equality with foreign nations, which, it is said, the superior economy and dispatch at the Outports will do. If this alleged advantage of the Outports were admitted, it would, in the opinion of your Committee, weigh but little in the general question. The difference cannot be material in itself, and its effect little, in a trade so unlikely to become of any magnitude.

There are, however, other considerations of great weight belonging to the question of opening the Outports, to which the petitions do not advert. One of these is, the immense interests which the port of London, with all its descriptions of merchants, tradesmen, tea-dealers, factors, brokers, dyers, packers, callenders, inspectors, labourers, ship-builders, ship-chandlers, rope-makers, ship-owners, mariners, and all their train of establishments, warehouses, wharfs, docks, yards, premises, shipping formed in the course of two centuries, in which the Company's privilege, and the law of the land, have made the metropolis the sole seat of the Eastern commerce: all these interests, with the Corporation of London, have represented to Parliament, the ruin in which they would be involved by the opening of the trade to the Outports. The Company's periodical public sales, on which so much of the order and success of their business depend, would be interfered with, and their very large property in warehouses and other buildings deteriorated;

in short, all the institutions, public and private, of the capital, for carrying on the eastern trade, would be shattered or broken down. The removal of the trade would effect this, although the new speculations and enterprises would establish nothing equivalent in other places; far less compensate the losses of the supplanted parties. Your Committee cannot go into this subject, sufficiently, to give a just sense of the magnitude and importance of it; but they may seriously ask,—Is the case equal between the people of London and those of the Outports? Would it be right to expose to privation and ruin one set, by withdrawing from them what they have long enjoyed, in order to add to the comfortable provision the other set already possess; and this only to save them the slight inconvenience of bringing their Indian imports to the port of London?

Let it never be forgotten, too, that the Indian people are concerned in this question. The Court have already, in their letters to Lord Melville and Lord Buckinghamshire, stated their apprehensions, that the opening of the Outports to imports from India might increase the resort of European adventurers to India. It has been advanced, in return, from some quarters, that the police of India is so excellent, as to obviate every danger of this kind. Your Committee are sorry to observe that they find in the records of the Bengal Government, informations concerning the police, which do not warrant them to conclude quite so favourably of it; for, in fact, with all the progressive improvements in the system of the government there, they have not yet been able to bring the police into a state of perfect efficiency. The Fifth Report of the Committee of the House of Commons has entered much into this subject, and one quotation from the conclusion of it may suffice to justify this observation. "It does not, "therefore, appear to have been from any want of "information, in regard to the imperfect state of the "police, that the Government was unable to prevent "its becoming worse, but rather, as your Committee "should suppose, from the difficulties which pre-

" sented themselves to the application of an efficacious " remedy":

Fifthly,—on the China monopoly. Besides the connection already noticed of the China monopoly with the policy of our Indian system, the uniting of this trade under one head is necessary, both on account of the extreme caution required in the conduct of our intercourse with so jealous and inflexible a government as the Chinese, and of the security of the large revenue derived by the British public from this branch of commerce. The habits of the Chinese nation are known to be as fixed as they are peculiar. Their government is a pure despotism, jealous of the smallest tendency to insubordination or innovation: the people are guided by a principle of implicit submission to their superiors; and both government and people hold all disorderly conduct in the utmost abhorrence. Foreign trade is held in low estimation, and the commerce which Europeans have been permitted to carry on is subjected to manifold and rigorous restrictions, intended to prevent the intermixture of strangers with the natives, and to guard against their entrance into the interior of the country, and the hazard of their becoming, in any way, troublesome to the government. The ships of European nations are allowed to resort to only one port in an empire of so vast extent, and there, even, no stranger is permitted a constant residence, without credentials from the sovereign of the state to which he belongs. When a factory is established, for which one spot is fixed, the factors are confined to very narrow precincts around it; they dare not make an excursion beyond those precincts into the open fields, nor enter into the closely adjoining city of Canton. The government of China does not allow to its own subjects freedom of trade, or unrestrained intercourse with foreigners—both are interdicted; and the restrictions imposed, together with the sumptuary laws in force, oppose the strongest obstacles to any great extension of the sale of our manufactures among the Chinese. The trade with Europeans is given in monopoly to a company of

ten or twelve Chinese merchants, styled the Hong; and these merchants become responsible to the government for the conduct of the foreigners with whom they deal. After the ships are dispatched for the season, the factors are obliged to withdraw to the island of Macao, a low Portuguese settlement, till the ships of next year arrive. And, with respect to the ships, they are, whilst in harbour, under the controul of the Chinese officers, who are empowered by law to take the custody of their guns;—and if, in the intercourses, and consequent frays, between the natives and our English sailors, one of the former happens to meet his death, *by accident*, from an unknown hand, it may produce the most serious consequences; for the Chinese government has been known, in such a case, to claim the life of an European in expiation, and for an occurrence like this the Company's establishment is held responsible, and their trade liable to be stopped. With a government so absolute, in requiring implicit conformity to its peculiar laws and usages, and so marked with pride, suspicion, and despotism, British subjects have the utmost difficulty to act; and the Company's agents frequently submit to caprices and humiliations, to which the honour of a sovereign would not allow any representative of his to yield. Is it, therefore, in the least probable, that the Chinese would tolerate the indiscriminate ingress of numberless unconnected, unaccredited Europeans? or, if they did give them admission, that their multiplied, irregular, desultory visits and intercourses with the natives, would not be attended with disorders, with violations of Chinese usages, (with smuggling, for instance, a high offence in China), which would soon end in the utter expulsion and exclusion of these strangers, or in such injustice and humiliating punishments, on the part of the Chinese government, as might call on the honour of this country to demand redress? The splendid embassy which His Majesty sent by Lord Macartney to the Emperor of China had, with all its imposing attendant circumstances, and all the skilful address of that nobleman, no influence to induce the Chinese government to relax from their rigid restric-

tions on the commerce and intercourse of British subjects with its territories; and it may be safely concluded, that all which that government must have since heard, respecting the revolutions in Europe, will make it adhere still more obstinately to its jealous precautionary system. To all these probable dangers, the petitioners oppose nothing but the honourable character of Britons, and the example of the American adventurers to China. —Frail dependence! British sailors carry to every shore their habits of excess, as is too often found in the Company's ships, notwithstanding the strict discipline established in them. The American seamen are a much more sober and quiet class of people, and the adventurers of that nation have derived in China a sanction from the pre-establishment and credit of the English factory, to which, from their language and manners, they appeared to be related. It is, indeed, by the prudent, respectable conduct of the Company's representatives there, in the management of their own trust, and the controul exercised by them over other British subjects; it is by this means, and by the extent and regularity of the Company's dealings; by their probity, now so famed, as to pass the bales which have their mark, without inspection, through the Chinese empire, that this jealous and supercilious people have been at length greatly conciliated :—but the Company's establishment could not, on the principles now proposed, retain either its credit or position. To expose a trade of such value and importance to the nation and the revenue, to hazards so great; to break down the present system, with the immense establishments and property connected with it, particularly the China fleet of the Company—a thing unparalleled in the commercial annals of the world,—would, therefore, in every view, commercial, financial, and political, be utterly unwise; and if this desperate risk were run, further evils would await the new system at home. Upon the supposition of a general resort of British ships to China, how would it be possible to prevent the smuggling of tea on the coasts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the facility which exists of receiving that article

on board in many of the Eastern Islands, where there are no custom-houses, and with the temptation of evading a duty of n netv-five per cent at home? The petitions offer not the least satisfaction on this point; a point highly interesting, as has already appeared, if the question were only about opening the Indian trade to the Outports; but yet more interesting, in respect to the proposal for laying open the China trade, which is, at the best, a proposal to incur the most imminent risk of losing that trade, and the great revenue arising from it; merely in order to change the hands through which it shall pass; for supposing it to be preserved to the nation, there is no reasonable ground to think that it could be increased, because the Chinese now *take our woollens only in barter* for tea, and the present importations of tea are as large as the country requires.

Sixthly,—On the complaints of the superior advantages enjoyed by neutrals, particularly the Americans, in the Indian trade. The vessels of the American States first appeared in the Indian Seas about the year 1785. At that time several European nations possessed settlements on the continent of India, in virtue of grants from the native sovereigns, recognised by this country, after the Company obtained territorial dominion. It had not then been disputed, that those settlements might receive other European flags as well as their own (though the Company have, within these few years, properly held, that the original grant gave a right of trade only for the ships of the nation to whom the grant was made); therefore the Bengal Government thought it politic to admit the American ships into the British ports, rather than oblige them, by refusal, to carry their custom to the French, Dutch, and Danes. This was, however, merely a gratuitous licence, revokable at pleasure. But, in 1794, the Government of this country, induced by the political circumstances of the time, gave to the United States, by treaty, a right to a direct trade between their own ports and those of British India, on the terms of the most favoured nation: and, in 1797, the privilege of free ingress to the British ports in India was conferred on all

friendly nations. By the long continuance of the war which followed the French revolution, these concessions proved of unforeseen high advantage to the subjects of the American States. The settlements on the Indian continent, of the French, and of the Dutch and Danes, who had fallen under French influence, were successively captured by the English. The Portuguese and Americans were then the only neutrals who frequented the Indian Seas: and the troubles of Portugal at length left the neutral trade very much in the hands of the Americans, who succeeded, in effect, to the excluded traders of foreign Europe, and supplied their wants, as well as those of the increasing population of the United States and the demands of Spanish America. The subjects of those states, undoubtedly, abused the privileges conceded to them by His Majesty Government, in the Indian trade. They were, by treaty, restricted to a direct trade between America and India; but they visited the ports of foreign Europe, going and returning, and became the general carriers. They even supplied our own West Indian and North American colonies with eastern commodities, and they entered actively into the China trade, deriving a facility of admission there from being viewed as a cast of Englishmen; perhaps also a sanction, from the countenance of the British establishment there.

For several years after the appearance of the Americans in the Indian Seas, they were, no doubt, assisted by British capital; partly by that which wanted a remittance to Europe, but to no very great amount. They exported from Bengal in ten years, through which their trade, on the whole, was considerably progressive, and which ended with 1804-5, goods to the amount of Sicca Rupees 3,71,50,029 (£4,643,575), or £464,357 per annum; and they imported to the amount of Sicca Rupees 3,12,48,544 (£3,906,068), or £390,606 per annum. The excess of exports above the imports, being in ten years £737,507, or £73,750 per annum, may be supposed to be the property of British residents in Bengal remitted by the way of America. Whether they were furnished with British capital from

London, and to what amount, it is difficult to ascertain; but it appears evident, that as they proceeded in the trade, their imports to Bengal more nearly equalled their exports, which shews they were better able to do without Indo-British assistance, and probably it was the same as to European assistance.* Upon this trade, however offensive to our private merchants, and in some views also, to the Company, it may be justly observed, that it was favorable to British India. It carried seasonable and large supplies of bullion to that country from year to year, not above a seventh of its imports being in goods, and these chiefly wines and other articles for the consumption of Europeans. It also carried the commodities of India to foreign Europe, to Spanish America, and other places to which British ships, on account of the war, could have no access; and when, by the policy and increasing power of Bonaparte, the produce of this country and its colonies were nearly shut out from the Continent, the Americans still continued to introduce the commodities of India there, and with the returns of their adventurers they probably purchased English manufactures to carry to the American continent: so that this country, also, eventually benefited by their Indian trade. And however much their large participation of that trade became a matter of complaint among English merchants connected with India, it is certain, that whilst we were engaged in war with almost all Europe, those merchants could not, even by circuitous means, have oc-

* Other averages of the American trade with India, from statements before your Committee, may also be here noted.

In Six Years, from 1802-3 to 1807-8.	*Goods*	*Bullion.*	*Total.*
Imports into all India........	£957,224	£6,528,250	£7,487,524
Exports ditto....	6,901,269	25,696	6,926,965
In Three Years, from 1808-9 to 1810-11.			
Imports into all India	351,602	4,531,233	4,882,836
Exports ditto...............	5,107,818	9,625	5,117,443

cupied the place which the Americans filled in the Indian commerce: of which position no other proof is necessary, than the frequent want of sales for the goods, public and private, actually brought into the India House, during the period in question The great progress and profit made by the Americans in the Indian trade, therefore, proceed essentially, not from their activity, or the advantage of individual enterprize, but from their neutral character, which besides giving them access to countries from which belligerents are shut out, enables them to navigate more cheaply, easily, and expeditiously: and it may be taken as a certainty, that whenever war ceases, all their advantages will cease with it, and their power of entering into competition with us, in the trade of their own settlements, be very greatly reduced. The cry that has been raised, and continued against the Company, on this account, confessedly with the view of obtaining a general admission of Indian ships into England, is therefore altogether unfair. If a circuitous trade in Indian commodities, from Britain to foreign parts, has been prevented by the rivalship of the Americans, the Company have suffered as well as individuals; they have suffered, also, by the smuggling of eastern articles from America into our West Indian and North American colonies. They were anxious to check the abuses of the treaty of 1794, and when it expired, they obtained the consent of His Majesty's ministers to impose a double duty on the neutral trade with India, which then applied almost solely to the Americans; but, if the complaints against the rivalship of the Americans in the Indian trade had been well founded, what was the natural and proper remedy? Was it, that the Company, part of whose own trade had, during the war, passed into American hands, should sacrifice the rest of their exclusive privileges, and by the extinction of them, endanger the territorial possessions? Or was it not, obviously, that the Americans should be excluded from a trade, supposed to be carried on at the expence of Great Britain? Yet this cry is still unaccountably kept up, even when we are at war with

America, and the flag of the United States dares not be seen in the Indian Seas! Nay, it is kept up to injure the cause of the Company, after they have actually agreed on enlargements of the trade to England, greater than ever were contemplated, even by the private merchants of India, before the present negociation; and, if enlargements could effect the object, more than sufficient to bring the whole Indian trade of the Americans to the port of London.

It is singular, that the party who complains of the large share that has been engrossed by the Americans of the Indian trade, should be the same party who complain, also, of the large share which the Americans, in a state of neutrality, enjoyed of the British trade between Great Britain and foreign nations. It is well known, that previously to the rupture between England and the United States, it was urged as a grievance, that though America exported from this country to the amount of twelve millions sterling annually, the country was *not* benefited to the utmost possible extent from this export trade, because the British merchants and manufacturers were, by the intervention of America, deprived of the carrying, and of the second selling profit upon the manufactures. America, it was alledged, bought from us to a great extent, and Great Britain was, to a certain degree, a gainer, to the extent of the American purchases; but, because America sold our goods at second hand (to the Spanish Americans for example) it has been alledged, that had it not been for the intervention of the North American States, *we* should have supplied Spanish America, and, in addition to the profits we have received, would have engrossed all the advantage which has accrued to the merchants of the United States from the carrying and circuitous trade. But may it not, on the other hand, be argued, that if the British manufacturers in an open trade, and during a state of war, have found the assistance of America necessary to the calculation of their own manufactures, the same assistance was wanted by the manufacturers of India to the circulation of their productions: that the large exports from India, as well as the large exports from Great Britain, by the Ameri-

cans, were owing to their neutral character; that if the trade between India and England had been as open as is now contended for, the quantity of Indian goods, circulated through the world, could not have been greater than it has been, under the competition that has actually existed between the merchants of the United States and the East-India Company: and that a greater share in the export trade from India could only have been obtained for the free British traders in one of these ways, either by America abandoning, or Great Britain returning to her pacific relations with other countries. If a free trade has the virtue that is imputed to it, why, under complete freedom of trade, has this country been rendered tributary to America for a vent to the produce of British industry? and, if the pacific relations of states pass for no account in such a question, whence the congratulations we so often hear, upon what we have gained, and may yet gain, by the rupture with America?*

* The following statement, which has been received from an intelligent merchant who resided a number of years in America, shews the advantages under which the trade of that country was carried on in a state of peace.

The advantages which Americans, as ship-owners, enjoyed in a state of neutrality, are obvious, not only from their free communication with belligerents, but from other causes.

Their first rate vessels do not cost one half what those of the same tonnage, built in Britain, generally cost: hence, the capital employed is one half less, and one half the insurance is sufficient to cover the property at stake.

The premium of insurance on an American neutral, from Britain to America, was less than half what was given on an English vessel for the same voyage. On Americans the premium was from two to two and a half per cent., on English vessels from five to six per cent.

The countervailing duties in America, induced shippers always to give a preference to American vessels. Goods arriving in America, paid twelve and a half to fifteen per cent. duties; whilst the same goods, by a British vessel, not only paid the same rate of duty, but an additional ten per cent. on the amount of those duties, which is one and a quarter to one and a half per cent. increased duty.

The freight of goods from America to England, in American bottoms, was never, in the best times, higher than one shilling and sixpence per foot; and many times the whole freight of an homeward-bound American of three hundred tons (that is, to say an American going from this country) could have been had for £300

Seventhly.—That the distresses of the manufacturers, the exclusion of our trade from the continent of Eu-

or £400. The cargoes of three-fourths of Americans homeward consisted either of crates of ware, salt, or coals, which are well known to yield but a very small freight indeed, taking the whole difference betwixt the purchase and sale as freight.

The provisioning a ship in America, did not certainly cost more than one half that provisioning the same ship in Britain would have cost. Bread at 16s., beef at 30s. to 36s., pork at 45s. to 50s., rum at 2s., I believe will not be more than half the British prices for the same articles; and these were the current rates in 1800 to 1805.

Upon a calculation of all these advantages, it will be found that an American, in war time, could make a saving voyage from any of these ports to this country and home, when an English vessel would inevitably have brought her owner into debt; and that an American could actually import goods into the United States from this country, and sell them at their average wholesale importation profit to others, as low as a British merchant could send them to America in a British ship, and deliver them over to be transhipped, without any profit at all.

The American ships, being of a lighter construction than ours, they sail with at least one-third fewer hands.

The following statement will better elucidate these remarks. An American, of 250 tons, is employed in a voyage to Britain and back. Her value, as a first rate vessel for that trade, is £2000, and the voyage occupies five months. A ship of 250 tons would carry 3,000 barrels of flour, at 9s. which was the ordinary freight £1,350

The average freight home of such vessels could not exceed 600

£1,950

American Charges	£.	s.	d.	British Charges.	£.	s.	d.
Insurance out and home,				Insurance out and home,			
£2,000, at 4½ per cent.	95	0	0	vessel valued at £4000			
8 men, 5 months, at £5	200	0	0	at 9 per cent. - -	360	0	0
Captain and mate £10				12 men, 5 months at £5	300	0	0
each - - - - - -	100	0	0	Captain and mate - -	100	0	0
2,400lbs. bread, at 16s.	19	4	0	360 lbs. of bread for 14			
Beef, 10 barrels, at 32s.	16	0	0	people, 5 months, at			
Pork, 10 ditto, at 50s.	25	0	0	32s. - - - - - -	57	12	0
150 gallons rum - -	16	17	0	15 barrels of beef, at £4	60	0	0
Interest of £2,000, 5				15 ditto, pork, at 90s.	67	10	0
months - - - - -	41	13	4	220 gallons rum, at 5s.	55	0	0
				Interest of £4,000 5			
	£513	14	0	months - - - - -	83	6	8
					£1,083	6	8

These are not to be understood as the total charges on the voyage, but are those which shew the advantages which Americans have enjoyed.

rope and from North America, its consequent great decline, and the support of the war, require new channels of enterprise, and therefore an open trade.

Every British heart must lament the obstructions to which our commerce has been subjected; must wish for the removal of all continental exclusions, as well as of our differences with America, and that commercial freedom and activity may be restored. It is also extremely desirable, that new sources of trade should be discovered; and natural for those who are now suffering under privations and hardships, to catch eagerly at the flattering prospects and promises, so confidently held out to them from opening the trade with the East. But can the Court of Directors, thoroughly convinced, as they are, that all such expectation are groundless and delusive; that those who should act upon them, if the trade were opened, would be sure to experience ruinous loss and disappointment, and that the abolition of the Company's commercial privileges would be, in effect, the extinction of the whole of the present Indian system: can the Court, with these convictions, lend themselves to promote a dangerous deception, already too prevalent, at the sacrifice of so much individual interest, and of that public interest, the care of which is entrusted to them? If it were, indeed, probable, that by a slow process, the commercial intercourse between this country and the East could be enlarged, the effect would be far too distant to relieve present pressures, and the first adventurers be more likely to plunge the trading world into fresh difficulties, as proved to be the result of the general rush in the trade of Buenos Ayres, where it was easy to send exports, but difficult to find sale or return. It will, perhaps, now be said, that the trade with Buenos Ayres has become a regular one; but it can be a regular one only to a very limited extent, being, indeed, partly what subsisted with Lisbon before it was turned into a different channel; it may not, in a long time, replace the vast sums at first lost there, and, at any rate, it displaced no important system existing before. From the late very favourable change in the affairs of Europe, a better prospect of

relief now appears; from the East it will be found that no hope of any can be rationally entertained.

Eighthly,—That a free trade to the East would be a substitute and cure for all present commercial evils; would open an unbounded field to British manufactures, British capital, skill, enterprize, and knowledge, which would not only supply the wants of the vast population of the East, but create wants where they did not exist.

The practicability of extending, in any great degree, the commerce of this country with the natives of the East, in exports and imports, is undoubtedly a vital question in the whole of the discussion respecting the renewal of the Charter: for, if no such extension be indeed practicable, to what end should the present system, with all the establishments which have grown out of it, be destroyed. The British merchants appear to entertain the most extravagant ideas of a new world for commercial enterprise; ideas upon which they are ready to risk their own property, and to sacrifice all the interests of the existing Indian system. The Company, backed by the great mass of British subjects now in Europe, who are acquainted with the countries of the East, maintain, in direct opposition to all such imaginations, that it is not now possible greatly to extend among the inhabitants of the East the consumption of British productions; or, in this country, the sale of Asiatic commodities. On the side of the merchants there is, in truth, nothing but a sanguine theory. On the side of the Company there is the experience of all the nations of Europe for three centuries; there is the testimony of ancient history; there are the climate, the nature, the usages, tastes, prejudices, religious and political institutions of the Eastern people. If the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, and the account of the first Europeans sent by that route to the shores of India, were only just announced to us, some explanation might be given of the enthusiasm with which the hope of unbounded commerce thither is entertained; but that, after all the knowledge which successive ages have afforded upon this subject, men of

general intelligence and cultivation should, in opposition to the usual course of human affairs, adopt the fond idea of entering, at once, into the enjoyment of a new world of commerce, is a most striking instance of credulity, and of the power which interest and imagination united have to impose upon the understanding. The theory of Dr. Adam Smith did not anticipate any such sudden burst of new commerce, when he pronounced, that "the East Indies offered a market for the manufactures of Europe, greater, and more extensive, than both Europe and America put together." Eminent as Dr. Smith certainly was in the science of political economy, he was not infallible. His information respecting India was very defective, and erroneous; his prejudices against the East India Company extreme, and his prognostics concerning the Indian government wholly mistaken. In the period which has elapsed, of near forty years, since he first published his work on the *Wealth of Nations*, the endeavours of all Europe and America have made no discovery of that immense market for European manufactures, which, he said, was offered by the East Indies: yet the same doctrine seems to be still in the minds of some of the Petitioners, who make it a serious charge against the Company, that its exports to the immense regions of the East do not amount to a fifth of the exports of this country to North America. But, as well might it be a matter of charge against the merchants of England, that their exports to the great continent of Africa, which contains so many millions of inhabitants, less influenced by religious prejudices, and more inclined, by taste and manners, than the people of the East, to use our productions, do not equal their exports to our remaining American colonies. The reason is obvious in both cases. All the North American colonists are the same people as ourselves, live under a climate nearly similar, and have a variety of commodities, valuable to us, to exchange; the Africans live under a tropical sun, are poor, and have little means of purchasing even such of our manufactures as they would like to use. It has been already noticed, that the Americans

have been in the habit of carrying our commodities into other countries.

A profound observer of human affairs, the President Montesquieu, had, before the time of Dr. Smith, who however overlooks his opinion, reasoned more agreeably to nature and experience on this subject. "Although," says he, "commerce be liable to great revolutions, it may happen that certain physical causes, "such as the quality of soil and climate, shall for ever "fix its character. In the commerce which we carry "on with India in modern times, the export of money "thither is indispensable. The Romans carried to "India, every year, about fifty millions of *Sesterces*. "That money, as ours now is, was exchanged for "goods, which they brought back to the West. Every "nation which has traded to India has uniformly carried the precious metals thither, and brought back "goods in return. Nature herself produces this effect. The Indians have their arts, which are adapted to their manner of life. Our wants are essentially different from theirs; and what is luxury to us, "never can be so to them. Their climate neither "requires, nor permits the use of almost any of our "commodities. Accustomed to go almost naked, the "country furnishes them with the scanty raiments "they wear; and their religion, to which they are in "absolute subjection, instils into them an aversion to "that sort of food which we consume they, therefore, "need nothing from us but our metals, which are the "signs of value, and for which they give in return the "merchandize that their frugality, and the nature of "the country, supply in abundance. Ancient authors, "who have written upon India, represent the country "precisely such as we now find it, as to police, to "manners, and to morals. India always has been, "and India always will be, what it now is; and those "who trade to India will carry money thither and "bring none back."

As the Court have, in their letter of the 13th January [illegible], to the President of the India Board, given the same views, and in some detail, on this subject, not

deriving their opinion from any single authority, but from the broad page of history and practice, it is unnecessary for your Committee again to enlarge upon it. But may not the attention of the manufacturers of woollens, metals, cotton fabrics, potteries, be still called to the habits of the Indian people, the bulk of whom live all their days upon rice, and go only half covered with a slight cotton cloth; the rice and cotton both produced by their own soil? The earnings of the common labouring classes, and consequently their expenses may be estimated, on an average, not to exceed* £4. 10*s.* per man per annum. They are indolent by nature, frugal by habit, under manifold religious restrictions:—what demand of the manufactures from Europe is to be expected from these? Of the better classes few are rich, unless those connected with Europeans: and *even these* during a course of near three centuries, in which they have lived in European settlements, have adopted none of our tastes or fashions, unless perhaps in a few articles of jewellery and hardware, looking-glasses, and carriages, with the use of a mantle of broad cloth in the cold season. As to the north of India, though the climate there be less dissimilar to ours, the people are extremely so: and in poor, ill-governed countries, where property is insecure and concealed, what hope can there be of a vent for foreign luxuries? The persons who now imagine that region to present a great field for commerce, have no conception of the difficulty of carrying goods there from the sea; the delays, expense, and insecurity, that must be experienced when the boundaries of the Company's government are passed; and in finding and bringing back returns if the European commodities could be disposed of. With respect

* In a late statistical account of Dinagepore, a province of Bengal, there are statements of the annual expenses of different classes of society, and among them one of the expenses of a labouring man, with a wife and two children. The amount is only Rupees 32.10.11, or near £3 per annum, being at the rate of fifteen shillings per head. The article of clothing for this family of four persons is only six shillings per annum.

to China, it is not denied that it might, in all probability, take off many of our manufactures, if the Chinese government would allow the free dissemination of them. The jealous restrictions of that Government, however, which though they have been already stated, it may be proper to notice again here, prevent their own subjects, in general, from any dealings with Europeans: and it has been seen, that the magnificent style of Lord Macartney's embassy, which bespoke the grandeur of the British sovereign, with the refined diplomatic talents of that nobleman, which even struck the Chinese courtiers, were incapable of moving the Government to depart, in the smallest degree, from its established policy. If, instead of the regulated, long-experienced organ for European trade, the Company's Canton establishment (under whose respectability, in fact, the Americans were admitted), a swarm of unconnected private-traders were to be let loose upon that country, it is altogether probable, that the Chinese would either shut their doors entirely upon, or contract even the present narrow entrance.

If so many proofs of want of knowledge on Indian subjects did not croud on your Committee, they might express surprize, at finding any persons still so uninformed, as to hold up the trade carried on by individuals, in the time of Cromwell, as gainful to the parties and useful to the nation. The fact is now ascertained to have been notoriously otherwise. The competition of the traders led them to undersell their exports in India and their imports in England. The public, indeed, for a little time, got Indian goods remarkably cheap; but the adventurers could not go on, and Cromwell, induced by the representations made him, in which several of those very adventurers joined, restored the Company, *in order to save the Indian trade to the nation.*

Parliament is now told by the Petitioners, that the private-trade, to which individuals were admitted by the Act of 1793, enlarged by the arrangement of 1802, has succeeded and produced a profit, even whilst the Company have been trading to a loss. The Court

have very substantial reasons to believe, that although some articles of private-trade may, at certain times, have sold to a profit, yet that large importations of other articles, both into India and into England, have repeatedly sold to a loss, or have remained long on hand for want of sale.

The nature of this trade should be considered. The numerous commanders and officers of the Company's ships (a very superior class of nautical men) have no adequate provision from direct pecuniary allowances; their compensation has always been given in the privilege of trade, and a certain allowance of tonnage freight free. This has generally made them traders; and as they are to look to trade for their emolument (for but few, comparatively, make money by passengers) they continue to adventure, though often with little success: and your Committee are assured, that though they pay no freight nor commission, being their own agents, they still find it, on the whole, a precarious unproductive business. Now, if these men do not succeed, it can hardly be expected that those, who have freight and commission to pay, can fare better.

But it will be said, that other individuals do nevertheless embark in this trade. To this it is to be answered, that the manufacturers of indigo in Bengal, an article originally promoted, and always fostered by the Company, generally send their produce to England, and this is a matter of necessity, because the great bulk of the article cannot otherwise be disposed of. Again, there is a certain annual amount of acquisition by Europeans in India; and as this, doubtless a large amount in all, is, in one way or another, to be remitted to England, merchants in India may find their account tolerably well in taking up such money in India, investing it in goods, and granting bills, at a rate favorable to the drawer, payable from the sales in this country. A sort of new transit capital arises in this way every year; and men may be tempted, occasionally, to seek to make an advantage of it, who would not regularly fix a capital of their own in the

trade. There is also a third sort of trade from India, which men of large capital speculate in, when favourable occasions seem to offer; and, in this way, sometimes cotton piece goods, sometimes cotton-wool, sometimes indigo and raw-silk, have been adventured in. But your Committee suppose it to be an undisputed fact, that these larger adventures have repeatedly been attended with heavy losses to individuals; particularly the very great importations of piece-goods, exceeding in value two millions sterling, in 1802 the large importations of cotton, and even of indigo, since that time: and what may be sufficiently decisive on this head is, that very large quantities of those have remained long in the Company's warehouses without a sale, or uncleared after sale. The following abstract account will sufficiently exhibit these facts.

Value of Private Goods from India remaining in the Company's Warehouses

On the 1st. Jan.	SOLD.	UNSOLD.	TOTAL.
1809	£1,576,185	£815,000	£2,391,185
1810	1,370,958	1,057,760	2,428,718
1811	2,513,761	1,005,000	3,518,761
1812	2,547,668	1,002,932	3,550,600
1813	2,411,259	1,008,000	3,419,259

Of the Sold Goods remaining in the Warehouses, 1st. January 1813.

246	bales cotton wool have been in warehouse	ten years	£2,460
112	do	five	1,120
6,600	do	four	66,000
30,000	do	three	300,000
6,000	do	two	58,930

42,958 bales cotton-wool, value - - - £428,510

			Brought forward		£423,510
71 chests of indigo remaining		seven years - - - -		£4,828	
722	do	six - - - - - - -		49,096	
424	do	five - - - - - - -		28,832	
230	do	four - - - - - - -		15,640	
5,121	do	three - - - - -		358,228	
1,593	do	two - - - - - -		108,324	
9,080	do	one - - - - - - -		613,838	
17,241 chests indigo, value		- - - - - -			1,178,786
					£1,607,296

Piece Goods Imported in 1803, 1804, *and* 1805.

Remained in warehouses in	1809	£276,784
Do - - - - - - - -	1810	155,591
Do - - - - - - - -	1811	132,094

But it will still be said, the private-trade between Europe and India has greatly increased since the enlargement of 1793 was granted.

To explain this it is to be remembered, first, that, as already stated, the commanders and officers of the Company's ships are, in a manner, obliged to be traders, and that they have greatly increased in number since 1793: they are forced to carry out goods, and therefore to bring goods back, because, *in general*, specie would be a losing remittance. Secondly, that the number of Europeans in India has been very greatly increased in India since 1793. Every class has increased; the civil, military, and medical servants of the Company; the King's troops, from a few regiments to twenty thousand men; the naval servants of the Crown; ladies, lawyers, free-merchants, free-mariners, and the mixed race of European descent, now become a great multitude, who imitate, as far as they can, the fashions of their fathers. For all these descriptions of persons, every thing required for use or luxury is sent from this country: thus the exports

are necessarily enhanced; and exports being made, returns for them in the commodities of the country become necessary, whether they are sure to answer or not.

A brief view of the state of the private trade between England and India may here be given from the Indian Registers of External Commerce, commencing with 1795-6, when the act of 1793 began to operate in India, to the year 1810-11. But it is to be remarked, that only the Bengal registers commence in 1795-6: those for Madras and Bombay not till 1802-3.

Statement of the Private-Trade between London and Bengal, from the Year 1795-6 to 1801-2 both Years inclusive.

	IMPORTS into BENGAL.			EXPORTS from BENGAL.
	Merchandize. Sicca Rupees.	Bullion. Sicca Rupees.	Total. Sicca Rupees.	Merchandize. Sicca Rupees.
1795-6	17,91,623	[illegible]	22,73,161	[illegible]
1796-7	15,19,906	[illegible]	[illegible]	50 79,310
1797-8	11,85,013	[illegible]	[illegible]	60 71,529
1798-9	10,13,105	[illegible]	[illegible]	41,07,834
1799-1800	31,50,696	[illegible]	[illegible]	67,66,649
1800-1801	40,98,560	3,71,112	[illegible]	81 87,336
1801-1802	[illegible]	3 24,019	[illegible]	1,31,97,420
	1,61,43,383	41,25,555	2,05,68,938	[illegible]

Statement of the Private-Trade between London and British India, from the Year 1802-3 *to* 1810-11, *both Years inclusive.*

	IMPORTS.			EXPORTS.		
	Stores and Merchandize. *Sicca Rupees.*	Bullion. *Sicca Rupees.*	Total. *Sicca Rupees.*	Merchandize. *Sicca Rupees*	Bullion. *Sa. Rup.*	Total. *Sicca Rupees.*
Bengal, in nine Years, from 1802-3 to 1810-1811.	3,35,33,443	52,19,768	3,87,53,211	7,62,87,574	2,540	7,62,90,114
Madras - -	1,14,96,218	50,17,839	1,65,14,057	93 72,303	5,867	[illegible]
Bombay - -	1,48,03,575	29,65,079	1,77,68,654	93 18,775	53,644	93 72,419
Total - -	5,98,33,236	1,32,02 686	7,30,35,922	9,49,78,652	62,051	9,50,40,703

"This is the comparative state of the private-trade with Bengal and India, in former periods, beginning with 1795-6 and at the present time. But the increase is, by no means, to be conceived as merely the result of the enlargement given by the Act of 1793, or afterwards. It is (let it be again observed) most materially to be ascribed to the increase in the number of Company's commanders and officers; to the necessity of making returns in goods from India for their exports; to the great increase of Europeans and their descendants in India; to the vast increase in the culture of indigo, cherished by the Company and permitted to come in their ships before the act of 1793; and what the enlargements of that act and subsequent measures have opened the way for, has been occasional large speculation in cotton piece goods, raw cotton, and indigo, which speculations have more often failed than succeeded. But the great conclusion to be derived from the account of the trade since 1793, is this: in all the period, of nearly twenty years, from that time to the present, in which, undoubtedly, facilities and enlargements, never enjoyed before, have been given for private enterprize and adventure, in which the private trade has considerably increased, and on the whole a very ample experiment has been made, *not one new article for the consumption of the natives of India has been exported*, and little perceivable difference in the few articles of metals and woollens of which they participated before. This is a very remarkable fact, and ought to make a deep impression on all persons who, in any way, interest themselves in this subject. Let us not hear of that unfair charge, so often repeated, that the Company's restrictions have prevented persons from availing themselves of the privilege held out by public regulations. Would the commanders and officers, not restrained by high freight, or any uncertainty of getting tonnage, not have carried out articles for the use of the natives, if they had found that any such were saleable? Would not European residents in India, keen merchants, and acquainted with the dispositions and tastes of the natives, have commissioned for such ar-

ticles, if they had seen any vent for them? Would not native merchants, who buy and sell European commodities, have recommended the importation of things for the natives, if they had seen any chance of a sale? Yet, of 54,000 tons allotted for the private trade since 1793, only 21,806 tons have been actually used by private merchants, and these filled wholly with commodities for the use of Europeans. On the whole, then, this may be pronounced a decisive experiment: a decisive proof that there is no opening, nor any material opening to be expected, for the sale of European articles for the use of the natives of India.

Of the import trade from India on private account, since 1793, after what has already been said, it may be sufficient to present the following abstract.

IMPORTS *from* INDIA

	Piece Goods.	*Raw Silk.*	*Cotton Wool.*	*Indigo.*	*Sugar.*
	£	£	£	£	£
1793-4	83,139	34,938	—	47,038	12,465
1794-5	296,098	17,06[illegible]	11,054	105,346	6,286
1795-6	134,046	3,058	5,693	235,013	8,610
1796-7	319,053	3,315	30,118	273,654	15 525
1797-8	167,210	3,684	67,674	283,89[illegible]	77,594
1798-9	214,616	—	38,109	410 275	105,200
1799-800	295,658	—	415,113	782,119	91 959
1800-1	197,732	53,0[illegible]	[illegible]	401,472	222,118
1801-2	394,890	36,650	142,460	636,046	36,172
1802-3	861,872	37,588	160,915	789,314	41,124
1803-4	661,467	11,963	67,006	602,582	44,613
1804-5	678,787	65,218	93,242	811,214	65,391
1805-6	633,911	12,184	18,201	939,861	—
1806-7	164,111	165,839	122,072	549,871	—
1807-8	69,314	178,128	125,636	1,434,238	9,171
1808-9	18,199	89,085	158,032	510,406	—
1809-10	64,918	12,780	208,190	764,203	—
1810-11	48,043	85,498	550,078	1,382,767	10,827
1811-12	149,079	90,335	257,545	425,074	20,924
Total	5,670,443	933,351	2,916,860	11,504,716	771,309

in PRIVILEGE TRADE.

Salt-petre.	Pepper.	Drugs.	All other Articles	TOTAL.	
£	£	£	£	£	
—	—	3,830	—	181,710	1793-4
32,706	—	1,320	—	469,879	1794-5
13,084	—	10,283	—	409,787	1795-6
17,169	—	19,885	—	678,749	1796-7
33,527	—	13,200	—	646,782	1797-8
13,168	—	61,184	8,810	881,662	1798-9
—	18,077	102,804	7,779	1,747,139	1799-800
12,483	40,011	130,009	24,736	1,566,972	1800-1
62,326	70,100	151,354	193,889	1,724,217	1801-2
101,871	120,673	206,051	246,870	2,586,581	1802-3
18,495	37,488	142,858	18,232	1,860,734	1803-4
11,220	33,718	92,479	6,781	1,853,050	1804-5
—	1,376	111,875	5,564	1,722,972	1805-6
—	572	24,230	2,067	1,028,762	1806-7
—	19,918	90,506	4,774	1,931,685	1807-8
—	—	19,372	2,135	797,229	1808-9
—	—	62,491	16,826	1,129,408	1809-10
1,982	38,533	58,791	22,813	2,199,332	1810-11
89	19,921	178,366	27,690	1,169,023	1811-12
318,120	400,717	1,481,191	588,966	24,585,673	Total.

IMPORTS *from* INDIA *in* PRIVATE-TRADE

	Piece Goods.	*Raw Silk.*	*Cotton Wool.*	*Indigo.*	*Sugar.*
	£	£	£	£	£
1793-4	98,190	—	37,921	218,841	5,054
1794-5	162,967	—	—	140,974	9,834
1795-6	127,146	—	—	202,218	3,807
1796-7	55,308	—	—	148,659	1,324
1797-8	25,254	—	21,740	141,506	499
1798-9	29,499	—	11,334	266,176	6,197
1799-800	40,077	1,034	10,538	226,708	4,140
1800-1	91,387	46,615	8,889	280,886	17,332
1801-2	34,965	274	—	168,588	7,211
1802-3	207,799	—	8,151	89,261	827
1803-4	174,848	11,164	—	100,052	924
1804-5	180,034	60,233	593	269,926	—
1805-6	138,089	32,044	7,636	452,997	—
1806-7	36,401	86,231	19,485	224,515	135
1807-8	42,229	74,902	18,104	419,580	—
1808-9	47,334	12,696	35,220	300,152	—
1809-10	12,646	90,433	22,021	231,735	—
1810-11	76,33[illegible]	121,695	7,626	360,180	1,602
1811-12	51,112	148,867	—	47,637	—
Total	1,631,615	686,188	209,258	4,260,591	58,886

of COMMANDERS and OFFICERS.

Saltpetre.	Pepper.	Drugs.	All other Articles.	TOTAL.	
£	£	£	£	£	
—	5,280	76,640	3	441,929	1793-4
—	—	60,093	—	373,868	1794-5
29	2,593	121,823	925	458,541	1795-6
—	11,163	57,453	910	274,812	1796-7
—	—	96,389	7,772	293,160	1797-8
—	1,768	129,372	3,715	448,061	1798-9
3,060	8,041	64,990	12,220	370,808	1799-800
—	4,378	50,222	36,710	546,419	1800-1
97	12,501	41,326	3,465	268,427	1801-2
—	18,367	102,530	29,117	456,052	1802-3
—	8,388	18,411	1,516	315,303	1803-4
1,058	7,471	5,819	45,852	570,986	1804-5
144	7,395	84,445	5,360	728,110	1805-6
14	980	47,529	9,556	424,846	1806-7
377	—	45,960	16,724	617,876	1807-8
48	271	83,503	41,379	520,603	1808-9
156	4,762	66,414	5,108	433,275	1809-10
194	17,664	91,678	13,422	690,396	1810-11
28	1,398	60,494	19	309,555	1811-12
5,205	112,420	1,315,091	233,773	8,543,027	Total

SHORT ABSTRACT.

Total Privilege	- - - - -	£24,585,673
Private Trade	- - - - -	8,543,027
		33,128,700

Which contained:

Indigo	£11,504,716			
	4,290,591			
		£15,795,307		
Cotton	£2,916,860			
	209,258			
		£3,126,118		
			£18,921,425	
All other articles			14,207,275	

It may be proper to point out to attention, the great proportion which the articles of indigo and cotton bear to the whole of these imports; and likewise to refer to the great quantities of these two articles which, it has already appeared, remain still in the Company's warehouses, either unsold or uncleared. Of the practicability of enlarging the imports into this country of Indian productions, fit for the European market, it was formerly stated by the Court, that the diligence, not only of the different East-India Companies of Europe, but of individual Europeans trading through the whole extent of the Indian Seas, has been excited, during three centuries, to discover articles which might be profitably exported to Europe, and, after all the experience thus acquired, particularly in the present day, when the coasting and internal trade of India has been greatly enlarged, it is not reasonably to be assumed, upon merely theoretical ideas, that there is any source of materials, raw or manufactured in India, yet undiscovered, by which the imports from India into this country can be profitably augmented; and, with respect to those articles which may now be considered as the staples of India, namely, cotton piece goods, raw silk, indigo, raw cotton, and sugar, the demand for the

first is reduced and limited, by the vast growth and excellence of the cotton manufactures of Britain and Europe; the second, to whatever extent demanded, can be brought home in the ships of the Company; the third, already imported to an extent that nearly supplies the consumption of Europe, may also be easily carried home in the same channel; and the article of raw cotton, brought from a great distance, at an unavoidably high freight, which renders it incapable, when this country is engaged in war, and North America and Portugal at peace with us, of entering into competition with the cottons of Georgia and Brazil, both superior in quality, and brought to this market more expeditiously, to meet the fluctuations of price and demand, and at a far cheaper rate of freight. As to sugar, if it could be imported to this market, so as to rival the produce of our West-India colonies, which it cannot be in time of war, surely this is not a trade which could be, on the whole, profitable to the nation: and no other great article of Indian produce has ever been thought of; except hemp, of which the culture is still in an early stage in India, not capable of standing a competition with Russia, whenever our intercourse with that country is open. It is in this state of things, when the Company cannot find vent for more exports in the East, when their warehouses are filled with goods from the East for which there is no demand, and when they suffer from the continental restrictions in common with all his Majesty's subjects, that the Petitioners, whose chief complaint is of a general stagnation of trade, censure the Company for not enlarging their's.

Ninthly.—The demand of a full and entire freedom of trade to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, including China, and all the countries within the Charter of the East-India Company.

Such are the views of the Petitioners: professedly no less than a complete subversion of the fabric of the East-India Company, and all the great commercial establishments connected with it; involving, also, the hazard of the political interests of the British empire,

Indian and European. Certainly it must be presumed, the Petitioners expect such advantages to follow from all these changes, as shall compensate for the immense sacrifices which they require; but your Committee hope, it has sufficiently appeared from the preceding discussion, that all such expectations are illusory and vain. If, however, they are not indeed the offspring of sanguine theories, but the result of sober rational consideration, might not the same sobriety of thought be expected to pay an equitable regard to the ruin which would be inflicted on existing interests, and to look to some suitable provision against the possible contingency of final disappointment? Yet these important objects seem to have received no adequate attention. Against the alledged danger of excessive speculation (a danger which is, in fact, a public concern), it is argued, "that "the enterprize of individuals is uniformly limited by "their means and success." But if they involve all their friends, and sink in their attempts, and this should be the case of many, would not the result be a general calamity? The argument of the Petitioners assumes, that the new trade will be finally successful, but the foregoing review deprives them of all right to go upon this supposition.

For the deep injuries which all the London establishments connected with the Eastern trade would receive, there is absolutely no relief or reparation of any kind adverted to; and, for the Company, they are told, first of their wealth, knowledge, and experience (all of which have been before disparaged), as enabling them to oppose unassisted private efforts; that, if they can carry on trade to greater advantage than individuals, they have nothing to fear, and that they will reap their reward in competition. All this is particularly applied to the China trade, which is not a new trade, nor, as has been shewn, either susceptible of increase, or likely to be preserved at all as a general trade. The transfer of it to other hands would add nothing to the nation, whilst the entire benefit of it is necessary for the support of the political interests of the Company. Secondly, it is proposed, that for in-

demnifying and remunerating the claims of the Company, they shall "have a fair and equal impost on the "trade in question." If the trade and rate of impost were both likely to be considerable, which your Committee see no reason to suppose, the idea of an indemnification for the whole, by giving afterwards a part (and probably a small part), can hardly be treated as a serious idea.

But for the detriment which the Company, in their political capacity, might sustain, for all the ill consequences that might ensue to the government and immense population of India, no provision whatever is proposed. And against an entire failure of the vast prospects, now so sanguinely entertained, this consolation is at last administered, that "the very worst that "can occur, in the event of the abandonment of the "trade by the public, would be, *that matters might* "*return again to their present state.*"

But can it be seriously supposed, that after the fabric of the Company, and its immense dependent and connected establishments in England, in India, and China, should have been set aside, and left to decay and ruin; when India should have been laid open and the China establishment superseded, and so much capital sunk, that things could be brought back to their former state? The possibility of such a mighty convulsion, and the ease with which it is contemplated by the Petitioners, may be sufficient to excite a salutary fear of the rage of theory, speculation, and innovation; may suggest the prudence of stopping short of the precipice to which they would conduct us; or at least resting at some point, so far safe as not to expose the whole of the empire, Indian and European, to the terrible alternative here brought into view. A great extension of the trade to or from the east, the object for which such dangers are to be run, is shewn, in the preceding pages, to be impracticable; and it has been also shewn, that in the prosecution of the attempt to obtain it, the interests of British India, and of the finances of this country, would be endangered: but if an experiment is still required to be made in the vast continent of Hindostan

and its adjacent islands (for to push the experiment into China would be to risk the trade of that country, and all its advantages, without the chance of any benefit) the means of making a large, ample experiment, in which the whole nation may participate, through the port of London, are now offered; means which shall give the fairest opportunity to ascertain the practicability of extending the trade, without breaking down present establishments, or exposing the empire, in case of failure, to the most disastrous consequences. At the safe point, therefore, here described, your Committee humbly hope the wisdom of His Majesty's Ministers and of Parliament will still see fit to rest.

(*Signed*) HUGH INGLIS,
ROBERT THORNTON,
JACOB BOSANQUET,
WM. F. ELPHINSTONE,
THEOPHILUS METCALFE,
JOSEPH COTTON,
CHARLES GRANT,
GEORGE SMITH,
EDWARD PARRY,
SWEENY TOONE,
WILLIAM ASTELL.

THE END.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields.

A

DEBATE

AT A

GENERAL COURT OF PROPRIETORS

OF

EAST-INDIA STOCK,

ON

LORD CASTLEREAGH'S PROPOSITIONS.

EAST-INDIA QUESTION.

A

DEBATE

AT A

GENERAL COURT OF PROPRIETORS

OF

EAST-INDIA STOCK,

ON

WEDNESDAY THE 24TH OF MARCH, 1813,

FOR

TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION

The Propositions

SUBMITTED BY

LORD CASTLEREAGH

TO

THE HONOURABLE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

BY THE EDITOR OF THE FORMER DEBATES.

WITH AN

APPENDIX.

LONDON:
Printed for BLACK, PARRY, and Co. Leadenhall Street,
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1813.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

As the Interest, and perhaps the Fate of the BRITISH *and* INDIAN EMPIRES *depend on the Decisions of this momentous Crisis, the Editor feels it incumbent upon him to put upon Record all the Discussions at the several* Courts of Proprietors *on the* INDIA QUESTION.

He therefore submits the following Debate to the Perusal of the Public; and pledges himself to lay before them whatever future ones may occur at the same Place, and on the same Subject; in order to render the Question clear, and the Transactions complete.

PROCEEDINGS, &c.

EAST-INDIA HOUSE, *March* 24, 1813.

THE Minutes of the last Court having been read, and certain accounts and official documents having been laid before the Proprietors, in conformity with the 3d, 4th and 6th sections of the 1st chapter of the Bye Laws of the Company;

Sir *Hugh Inglis* rose and stated, that the Court then assembled was made special, for the purpose of laying before the members, the Resolutions which were submitted to the House of Commons, on Monday night, by Lord Castlereagh, and had been received by the Court of Directors only on the preceding day—He (Sir Hugh Inglis) had seen the Earl of Buckinghamshire on Monday; and, at 11 o'clock on that day the Resolutions were not finally settled. This circumstance was mentioned as a reason for their not having been sooner transmitted to the Court of Directors.—Lord Castlereagh, in his opening speech, expressed himself in the highest terms of

the India Company:—He spoke in the warmest manner, both of themselves, their government, and the general good management of the whole of their concerns.—But he (Sir Hugh) could not but lament, that there were some of his propositions which did not correspond exactly with the sentiments contained in his opening speech. If the Court pleased, those propositions should be now laid before them, after which he would make a very few observations.

The propositions (for which see Appendix) having been read,

Sir *Hugh Inglis*, in continuation, observed, that the most material of those propositions was the *third* (not but the others were also highly deserving of attention), and, with the permission of the Court, he would have that particular proposition, to which he intended chiefly to confine his remarks, read over again.

This having been done accordingly, Sir *Hugh Inglis* proceeded. He said he had already stated, that Lord Castlereagh, in his opening speech, spoke in the highest terms of the excellence of the Company's government abroad, of the correctness of their management in that House, and of the ability of the gentlemen placed by them in the various departments. After this just eulogium on the Company and their establishments,

he was grieved to find that such a resolution, as that last read to the Court, was introduced, which must have the effect of breaking down that system, so properly described and panegyrised by the noble lord (*Hear! hear!*) He understood it was stated, that the Company had not capital sufficient to carry on their trade. But those whom he was addressing would recollect, for it had been stated in official documents, and asserted in that Court, that the Company had large sums to pay, in this country, from the resources of India.—How, he would ask, were those payments to be made, except through the medium of commerce? There was one item at present chargeable on their funds, the payment of interest on the India debt, amounting to £1,500,000 per annum, which, if it were paid, or payable in India, would lighten their funds at home to the extent of that sum. There were also other payments, connected with the India territories, to a very large amount.—These arose from the necessary recruiting for His Majesty's troops, sums granted to retired officers, and other items, making an aggregate of between 3 and £4,000,000 sterling, annually.—The funds to pay these must be furnished from the territorial revenues of India, and would, under other circumstances, supply a landed capital sufficient to carry on all the

trade that could be established with that country, or for which consumption could be found at home. If, however, it was not sufficient, the private trade, already established, was more than adequate to meet every demand in this country, and to take up all the surplus produce abroad. Unfortunately His Majesty's Ministers took a different view of the subject; they seemed to think, that there were no bounds to the trade between India and Great Britian.—Unhappily, however, there were many gentlemen, perhaps some of them in that room, who from dear bought experience, could assert the contrary.

If the trade were extended to the outports, the Court must be aware, that it would materially interfere with many arrangements of the Company.—Their sales were brought forward at particular and stated times; and, on the produce of those sales they had to depend, for paying the demands which were made upon them.—Now, if the trade were opened, when the Company declared a sale, the merchants at the Outports might anticipate it a month, a fortnight, or a week, and, when they expected money, to answer various demands, their goods would remain unsold in their warehouses. (*Hear! hear!*)

But that was not the only evil which they would have to encounter.—By the proposed al-

teration the danger of smuggling would be so much increased, as to affect not merely the revenues of the Company, but those of the Kingdom. It had been alleged, that the Court of Directors have not given all the facilities that could be wished to the private trade But what did the Company offer last year? An unlimited extension of trade, export and import, to and from India, in the ships of the private merchants.—And what did they ask in return? That the goods imported should be secured in the Company's warehouses, in the port of London. What did they contend for? That the port of London, which had ever been the *emporium* of India commerce, should ever continue so. (*Hear! hear!*) This arrangement was for the benefit of the Empire at large, and for the advantage of the adventurers themselves, because the London market afforded the surest and readiest place for sale. He was in hopes, that, with the enlarged view which Ministers must have taken of the subject, they would have considered it in this light. and attended to the representations of the numerous classes of people connected with the Company, not only in the metropolis, but in different towns throughout the country, particularly in the West of England, who were desirous that the trade should remain as it then was. It was much to

be lamented that Ministers had not taken that view of the question. Therefore, it would be necessary that the Company should present a petition to the House of Lords, similar to that, which, with the concurrence of the Court, had already been presented to the House of Commons; and perhaps it might also be necessary, at some future stage of the business, to cause petitions to be laid before both Houses of Parliament, praying to be heard by counsel, and to examine witnesses at the bar of each House respectively. The Court of Directors did not know, exactly, the stage when it would be proper to present these latter petitions to the two Houses. It would certainly be necessary that a petition should be presented to the House of Lords of the same description as that already presented to the House of Commons; and what the Court of Directors now requested was, the sanction of the Court of Proprietors to affix the seal of the Company to petitions, to the Houses of Lords and Commons, praying to be heard by councel and to examine witnesses, if necessary, without calling another General Court. He should, therefore, move,—

"That this Court concur in the propriety of "presenting a Petition to the House of Lords, "similar to that presented to the House of "Commons."

This motion was carried unanimously.

Sir *Hugh Inglis* next moved—

"That this Court do sanction the annexation
" of the Company's seal to petitions, to be pre-
" sented, if necessary, to the Houses of Lords
" and Commons, praying to be heard, at their
" bars, by counsel, and to examine witnesses."

On this motion being put,

Mr. *Randle Jackson* rose and said, if he understood, correctly, the course of their proceedings, the Court would not, on that day, be called on for a decisive opinion, much less for any conclusion on the Resolutions which had been read to them. They, along with other important and interesting matters, would be suffered to lie over, in order that the Court might exercise their judgement upon them after a calm and serious consideration; for every claim to serious consideration, which no less than a question of existence could have, the papers then before the Court possessed. They were at length approaching to that crisis which had been long foreseen—every step they trod assumed a shade more awful than the preceding; and they were then about to decide on their future existence, at least according to the conception of the term entertained by that Court, and by the Court of Directors:—for, to call *that existence*, which could only be an impaired and

mutilated state, did not coincide with their application of the term. It was not *that* state which they would covet, nor perhaps even accept. (*Hear! hear!*) Under these circumstances, they could not probably employ that morning better, than by taking a fair and candid view of their situation, as affected by the Resolutions proposed on the part of His Majesty's Ministers. He believed, there was no person who had attended the debate on Monday evening, as he had done, in his anxiety to procure every information on the subject, both with respect to what might be said respecting those Resolutions, as well as to the Resolutions themselves, without feeling an extraordinary degree of interest. The Noble Lord who proposed the Resolutions, avowedly abstained from going into detail, in his preliminary observations; and, in pursuing that course, he certainly acted right. He, therefore, confined himself to *generalities*; and the Deputy Chairman (Mr. Thornton) exercised a sound discretion, in circumscribing his reply to those generalities. It would be an act of injustice to his own feelings, if he did not state, that the speech of the noble Lord breathed throughout a spirit of fairness and conciliation—a desire to mediate between conflicting parties; and, at least in appearance, seemed to declare the true

feelings of his mind, that the plan he was then propounding was the best calculated for the general interest of the empire. Still, however, it was no presumption in men like them, who, for so many years had attended to the interests of India, and who had, consequently, derived no inconsiderable degree of information on the subjects connected with the state of *that* empire, if they still persisted in maintaining those opinions, which had been, on former occasions, clearly laid down, and respectfully submitted;—opinions that brought them to this final question, whether they, and the principles on which they were founded, were still to be adhered to, as they had heretofore been?

He heard, with uncommon pleasure, the high compliments which the Noble Lord paid, not merely to the government of the Company abroad and at home; not merely to the rectitude of their administration in either region; but honestly and fairly imputing to the Company, that *they* had been the persons who raised this mighty empire; and that *they*, who had been the functionaries presiding over those immense territories, had governed their subjects with the most equitable and beneficent sway. (*Hear! hear!*). He would read from the speech of his Lordship, a passage of that description: and, if ever a mo-

tion were made in that Court, for an honorary inscription to the Company, nothing more appropriate, he was convinced, than that passage, could be selected. It ought to be written in letters of gold, as a justification, to all posterity, not merely of the course which the Company *had* pursued, but of the firmness with which they were *then* acting. "The Company," said his Lordship, "have raised a mighty empire, and they have governed it in the manner best calculated to promote the general interests of the state, and to produce and support the happiness of the extensive population entrusted to their care." (*Hear! hear!*) Now, if all the writers on moral philosophy, on political economy, and on ethics, of the best and purest nature, were to combine their abilities, to form a single proposition, declaratory of a pure and perfect government, he would defy them to state it in terms more forcible or comprehensive than those made use of by the noble Lord. His Lordship says of us, that *we*, the East-India Company, have raised an empire of proud importance to the country;—that *we*, the East-India Company, by our care have preserved that empire;—that *we*, the East-India Company, have introduced a government, not merely formed to uphold the greatness and splendour of the state—but that *we* have created a

government which has perfectly answered the true end for which governments should be instituted, namely, one that has secured the complete safety, happiness and prosperity of the parties governed.—*(Hear! hear!)* If, then, the East-India Company be in itself so perfect—if its conduct be so honourable, so unimpeachable—if that body has administered the government of this proud empire in so unexceptionable a manner—the single question for every honest senator was, whether or not, that, which was now about to be proposed, would not risk the safety of the establishment so eloquently described? And whether the advantage which the commerce of the country might derive from throwing open the trade, bore any proportion to the risk which must inevitably be incurred?

The noble Lord, however, to induce those who heard him, to agree in the principle, that the opening the trade to the Outports would be a most judicious measure, stated three points for the consideration of the House of Commons; first, whether it would be for the benefit of the empire at large, that the trade should remain as it at present is? And, on this point, he (Mr. Jackson) would, by and by, request the attention of the Court, to what he would not call wilful misstatements—but to statements, which, if not met

by counter-observations, (and, he hoped, the indulgence of the Court, that day, would enable him to adduce some arguments to the purpose) might have the effect of perpetuating in the mind of Lord Castlereagh's auditors, that undue impression, which his Lordship's speech, in the first instance, was particularly calculated to produce. To advert then to the first query put by his Lordship, "whether it was for the interest of the empire, that the India trade should remain as at present constituted?" it must, at the first glance, strike every person, that, from the beginning to the end of this question, no notice whatever was taken of those great, and almost unlimited qualifications, which the Company expressed their willingness to agree to. It was not, therefore, a correct proposition—it was, in fact, begging the question. No person in that Court had contended that the trade should remain as it was. It was admitted, that it was capable of great and extensive modification; and, every gentleman who heard him would do him the justice to say, that, from the first moment he delivered his sentiments on the subject, he expressed himself to that effect—"Deepen the channel," said he, "as much as you please—widen it, enlarge it, if it be too narrow—but continue to preserve it. Let there not be an

indiscriminate commerce to India—if you endeavour to carry it on through a hundred different streams, some of them will become too mighty for your controul—they will overflow their feeble banks—they will bear down all opposition—and the violence of the deluge will risk the security of your whole establishment." Such, were, and such would ever continue to be, his sentiments.

The second proposition was, "whether some intermediate course might not be adopted, between his Lordship's first, of leaving every thing as it now was," and his third, "whether or not, supposing the East-India Company refused to continue their functions, on the terms which would be proposed, some new instrument might not be formed, sufficient for every purpose which this country might require in the government of India?" "If, unhappily," said his Lordship, (and he (Mr. Jackson) reiterated the expression, for *unhappily* indeed it would be!) "the India Company should find it contrary to their interest, or against their inclinations, to continue the government of India, some other mode may be devised, to supersede them in those functions." But the noble Lord avoided even a hint as to the nature of the system which would be pursued, under the third proposition; from a feeling, perhaps, in which he (Mr. Jackson) warmly parti-

cipated, that the necessity for such an attempt would never occur; and, he was sure, there was not a member of the Court who did not cherish a similar hope. All the noble Lord said on that part of the subject was, that he differed from those who thought such an alteration difficult or impossible.—Now, with all deference to the abilities of the noble Lord, he (Mr. Jackson) concurred in opinion with those who looked upon the thing as impossible; and he dissented most completely from the noble Lord in considering such a change feasible. He did most conscientiously believe, that it was impossible to effect such a change, consistently with the interests of the country. He would now consider the intermediate proposition, which was of primary importance to the Company; and, having considered it, he would take the liberty of examining three or four statements of the noble Lord, on which he bottomed his view of the second question. Now, if he could prove, which he trusted he should be enabled to do, that those statements were inaccurate, it must, of course, affect the proposition purporting to be founded upon them. In taking this view of the subject, he wished to speak of the noble Lord with the highest possible respect. He believed, that it must have given sensible pleasure to the House of Commons,

to observe the complimentary manner in which the noble Lord deported himself towards this great Company; because he (Mr. Jackson) knew, that a strong opinion did exist in the mind of the public, that, in the negociation between His Majesty's Ministers and the East-India Company, a sort of private pique, a feeling of personal resentment, had entered into the minds of individuals of very great respectability, who were concerned in the discussion of this momentous question. If such feelings were permitted, he would not hesitate to say, that they were unbecoming the enlightened minds of statesmen, and were very unmanly indulged towards the Company, whose great anxiety had evidently been, to conduct themselves with the utmost respect towards the higher authorities of the state—and it was but justice to the Proprietors to say, that, from the first hour of the negociation, up to the time at which he had the honour of addressing them, they had divested themselves of all narrow and contracted feelings—they were not influenced by any consideration of the trumpery dividend upon their stock, which would not, perhaps, make a difference of £50 to any gentleman who heard him—they were actuated by more noble, more enlarged views—and *he* would not do them justice, who should hesitate to de-

clare, that the whole of their debates, the whole of their discussions, had been conducted with the national feelings of British citizens—with the feelings of citizens of a great Empire—looking to the general welfare of the state, and contemning all base and selfish suggestions of private interest.—(*Hear! hear!*)—Nay, what was more, he would venture to say, for the members of that Court, in general, as well as for himself, that, if any party detected them in such mean and narrow feelings, they would be willing to sink beneath a load of contempt.—If the public saw them contending on such narrow grounds, let them disclaim the Company—let them condemn their cause—let them cease to respect the arguments adduced in their favour. However well-founded those arguments might be, let them be considered as the reasonings of men, who had a private interest to promote,—however strong and powerful they might be, still let them be contemplated as proceeding from sordid and selfish motives—and, therefore, divested of that weight and authority ,which, under other circumstances, would be justly due to them. When the public should find them in that degraded situation, he (Mr. Jackson) would consent, that all they had spoken, and all they had published, should be blotted from remembrance, and that they should be treated

as persons, whose ideas were mean, and groveling, confined and local.

Before he proceeded to examine the second proposition, he thought it would be proper to notice the third resolution proposed by the noble Lord, and which, by the desire of their worthy Chairman, had been read a second time. The noble Lord had, in the most explicit and candid manner, declared, at once, what it was the intention of Government to do. His Lordship's speech did seem to him (Mr. Jackson) the speech of a British gentleman, proceeding from a clear head and a very honest heart—and he was sure the noble Lord would be rather *pleased* than *offended* with any observations which that speech might give rise to in the Court. For, in the outset of his speech he stated, that it was very likely His Majesty's Ministers, with the best intentions and the most honest purpose, might still fall short, in the opinion of those who had so much more experience in the affairs of the Indian empire than themselves, in proposing a plan calculated to meet all the exigencies of the case—and he fairly stated, that if any principle of action were proposed, by which the difficulties might be removed, he would most cheerfully listen to it.—Thus encouraged, he (Mr. Jackson) would make a few observations on some of his Lordship's propo-

sitions, which appeared to be founded on error; and which, he trusted, would meet the ears of his, the noble Lord's auditors, before they completely made up their minds on a subject of so much interest.

It would have been singular, after the eulogium which the noble Lord had pronounced on the Company, if he had not followed it up by such a proposition as that with which the series of Resolutions commenced,—" That it is expedient " that all the privileges, authorities, and im- " munities, granted to the United Company of " Merchants of England trading to the East " Indies, by virtue of any Act or Acts of Parlia- " ment now in force, and all rules, regulations, " and clauses affecting the same, shall continue " and be in force for the farther term of twenty " years, except as far as the same may herein- " after be modified and repealed."—And it would have been no less extraordinary, if the *Army* and the *China Trade*, as expressed in subsequent Resolutions, were not continued with the Company; for those who had read the correspondence attentively, could never conceive that it was the intention of Government to take away the Army and the China Trade. Indeed, there would have been no consistency, in talking of preserving the Company, at the same time

that they were bent upon taking that away, by which alone it was enabled to exist. It would have been a *solecism* in language; and he did not believe that either the one or the other was seriously meant to be done, provided it was really intended that the East India Company should still remain. That it was so intended, was clear; for his Lordship had declared, the great interests of the country imperatively demanded that the Indian government should exist—and that it should exist through the administration of the Company —for which purpose it was necessary that the Army and the China Trade should be preserved to them. But here arose an observation, which, by and by, it would be absolutely necessary for them to consider. Because, to say that the Company should possess a privilege, without leaving them the complete and perfect means of enjoying it, was falling into that sort of error, which the noble Lord had imputed to the Company, with respect to those merchants who desired to have a part of our trade.—If, therefore, it was intended to keep the China Trade perfect and entire, would it be proper to permit ships to proceed to all the Eastern Isles, and to enter the very mouth of the river of Canton? He had all along said, if this were the arrangement, that it was giving the Company the trade *in name* only, and not

in fact, that it was professing to concede to them the China trade, but accompanying it with such facilities for illicit traffick, as would render the advantageous enjoyment of it impossible.—(*Hear! hear!*)—He had little doubt of proving in the course of his speech, that it would be impossible to preserve the China trade which was of so much importance to the Company and to the State, unless proper restrictions were introduced.—And, should his argument be successful, it was to be hoped, that Ministers would limit or alter the extent of permission to the Private Trader, so as not to affect the China trade, which his Lordship had been pleased to denominate a boon to the Company; and which, in another place, he stated, should not be altered, unless strong and urgent necessity were shewn for that purpose—unless it were made manifest, that the extension would be beneficial to the country at large, and that the safety of our Indian territories and of the revenue were not likely to be affected by it.—Now, if he could shew, that the indiscriminate access to the Eastern empire, which would be admitted by the proposed extension, was inconsistent with that safety, he conceived it would not be doing justice to the candour and frankness evinced by the noble Lord, if they did not conclude that his Lordship would agree to every necessary alteration.

The noble Lord had spoken of a sort of security against those dangers—not merely by an application of the Manifest Act, in places where manifests were never heard of—but merely by the introduction of revenue officers throughout the whole range of the Eastern Archipelago, by which the national revenues would be swallowed up—(which latter point was a matter of detail, that, in due time, would answer itself)—"but," says the noble Lord, (by way of security to the East-India Company) "the interest of the Company is most closely connected with that of the country—what is *income* to them, is *revenue* to us—when one is increased or diminished so is the other—we, therefore, are as deeply interested in the matter as you are—and the Government and the Company must naturally go so hand-in-hand; it is therefore extravagant to think we should suffer any circumstance to impair an income, which is absolutely necessary for the vital interests of the State." In answer to this, he (Mr. Jackson) would ask, what would the Government do,—what could they do,—when the unlimited access to the Eastern trade had established a system, which was above their control?—*(Hear! hear!)*—It would be then too late to say to the East-India Company, "we have as quick, as sensible, as vital feelings, for the prosperity of the *revenue*

as you have for the security of your *income!*"—for, when once this extension was allowed,—when once those facilities were granted, it would be as much above the power of the Government as of the East-India Company, to remedy the evil.—(*Hear! hear!*)—Government might then rightly estimate and form very accurate calculations of the loss—but to put an end to the mischief would exceed their utmost ability—therefore, unless, at some future period of this discussion, the noble Lord could place, beyond all sober apprehension, the perfect security and complete existence of the China Trade, before any other step was taken—unless he could shew the Legislature, and the House of Commons in particular, that the description of access to which he had referred, would not endanger the power and revenue of the country, beyond the authority of Ministers to check its ruinous effects—unless he could do this, he would not have performed so much as that House of Commons had a right to expect and to demand, before they were satisfied of the wisdom of his measure. They ought to say, "We cannot grant what you desire, unless you demonstrate, that, if evil consequences are likely to ensue, you will be able to prevent them."—(*Hear! hear!*) He knew that the private trader would not be admitted to go to

China for any article—but he also knew, that they might assort their cargoes with any Chinese productions, *tea* only excepted. This liberty was about to be conceded by those who must be perfectly aware, that the numerous islands in the Eastern Sea would be the place to which the private traders would resort for the purpose of procuring Chinese cargoes. And thus it was left to the common sense of every person to decide on the probable course which would be pursued. Here was a large body of men, possessing a most enterprising spirit, and having the command of capital, by which that spirit would be enabled to exert itself. These men proceeded to the Eastern Islands, nay, they visited the whole coast, for an assortment of articles. Under these circumstances, he would ask any man, whether it was not likely that an illicit trade would be carried on; and that great part of their cargoes, in point of value at least, would be Tea? Eight or ten pounds of that article could be contained in the paper which he held in his hand; and, by such a traffic the duty of 95 per cent. would be saved. Yet the noble Lord himself allowed, that if this illegal trade, the temptation to which was immense, could not be prevented, it would be dangerous to the interests of the Company, and no less

so to those of the empire.—(*Hear! hear!*) He must be a confident minister indeed, if he supposed that smuggling of this profitable description *could* be prevented. Smuggling did he call it? That was too mild a term—it was robbery—robbery of income and of revenue! And, unless the noble Lord had nerves more firm than any man who loved his country as he (Mr. Jackson) did, he could not contemplate even the possibility of such evils, without shuddering.—(*Hear! hear!*) Government might depend on the Report of the Commissioners of Customs, who thought those mischiefs impossible to be averted, and that the indiscriminate access to India must produce danger—he protested therefore against the granting the China trade, in name, when, by the license which accompanied it, it was not conceded in fact. The Court must see the necessity of laying before His Majesty's Government, more information, and more argument on the question, if more could be laid before them; and better, if, indeed better could be produced. The only course left for them was to bring forward evidence at the bar of the House; but they must not run away with the false idea, that the China trade was conceded to them, perfect and entire. If there were any thing like reality in his apprehensions,

the China trade, as he had before observed, would be theirs only in name, but not in fact.—(Hear! hear!)

The noble Lord he said proceeded to state, that His Majesty's Ministers continued most firm and decided in their opinion, that the *exports* should be from every port of the United Kingdom, to every port and every place on the continent of India (Canton excepted), within the limits of the Company's charter, and he seemed to have no doubt but that the right of import should be equally extensive.—As to the *imports*, his Lordship observed, if there were fifty ports to which they could be admitted, so much the better, as soon as such ports had satisfied His Majesty's Privy Council, that they were provided with docks and warehouses, where the goods might be bonded, consistently with the safety of the revenue.—Therefore, all the evils of which the Company had complained—all the evils which their Directors had so unanimously and so eloquently stated—and the truth of which, after so much deliberation, the Court had concurred in confirming; all those evils continued to be threatened, in the broadest and most unqualified manner. If they had stated their apprehensions, that the extending the trade to India would be dangerous—the evil still remained. If they contended, that this

mutilated commerce would leave them but with the name of the China trade—that source of complaint still existed—and even in a more aggravated degree;—for he recollected, a very few months back, it was not contemplated to grant the liberty of importing India produce to more than four or five ports of the United Kingdom, which were named as the best, although exploded as very bad, by the commissioners; but now, that principle was abandoned and the liberty was to be extended to every port, which His Majesty's Privy Council might deem proper. These were the dangers which threatened their existence—these were the dangers which they were called upon, in justice to themselves and to their country, to encounter—and such was their situation, that they must even "fight upon their stumps," in opposition to them. But he did not despair, because he thought many of the grounds on which the noble Lord had founded his views of the question, would fail him, when the argument came on in the House of Commons. One point on which he thought the noble Lord would not succeed in bringing his auditors over to his opinion, was that respecting the danger to be dreaded from the access of strangers to India. The noble Lord said, "I do not apprehend that danger from indiscriminate access which the East-India Company

seem to fear. And why am I callous to those fears, which were confessed, under the signature of His Majesty's Ministers, up to a certain period? why do I not feel them? Because the Directors of the East-India Company themselves have conceded the export trade,—they have conceded that all the individuals of the United Kingdom should be at liberty to export goods to India, through the medium of their own vessels, without limit or restraint from the Company; consequently, from their having agreed to such a proposition, they could have no fears of any evil resulting from this indiscriminate access."

Now, he would ask, was this a true, or just, or correct reason? In the first place, those who had read the correspondence between the Court of Directors and His Majesty's Ministers, would find that the former set out with deprecating all the evils which they apprehended from indiscriminate access; they stated their fears that intrigue would take place and faction be likely to break out in the Indian territory, in consequence of the free admission of Europeans. This was a fear inseparable from a knowledge of that intellectual activity and enterprise which characterised his countrymen; it was an apprehension which justly arose from a contemplation of that ardent love of liberty,

which, though sublime in its proper sphere, was most dangerous, if misapplied by those who might wish to introduce, what they conceived to be freedom and the rights of man, amongst persons living under a very different system; they had deprecated, in the strongest terms, the mischiefs which such an innovation must inevitably produce. Lord Melville, in his answer to those remonstrances, had said, in substance—"If this be the case, if the British merchant shall not be permitted to export goods in his own ships to India, it is in vain that we meet. Part of your letter turns on a very important point, the amount of your debt, and the pecuniary aid you require; but I will not meet you even on this subject, as it is in vain for us to communicate on any general proposition, with regard to India, unless you are prepared to agree to the terms which have been stated; and I tell you candidly and fairly, His Majesty's Ministers will not recommend to Parliament a renewal of your Charter, unless you concede the points demanded." The Hon. Chairman and Deputy Chairman, who then conducted the negociation, in a masterly paper, founded in a perfect conception of the subject, the result of long study and experience, and couched in language highly respectful; a paper, which he (Mr. Jackson) felt very great happiness in reading, as it was, in truth, a master-piece of its kind—

answered the letter of Lord Melville. "If," said they, "your Lordship will not treat with us on any other preliminaries, but the allowing an export trade in the ships of the private merchant, we must agree.—Although, to shew your Lordship how willing the Company has been to increase that trade to any useful extent, it may not be improper to state, that of three thousand tons of shipping annually provided for the private merchants, scarcely one-third has been used. Having observed thus much, it would be rude to fence about the matter farther—you drive us to a conclusion against our better judgment. But, as many subjects of great importance to the Company (particularly their pecuniary arrangements) await our acquiescence, we give our reluctant assent to this hard bargain." But, in justification of the Directors, and he (Mr. Jackson) hoped the fact would be made known to every member of the House of Commons, all those dangers which the Company deprecated, all those evils which were foreseen in an early part of the discussion, and which were repeatedly pressed on the attention of His Majesty's Ministers, continued to occupy the minds of those who conducted the Company's affairs; although, through necessity, they yielded to the strong power of Ministers. [The learned gentleman here read a copious extract from the letter of the

Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors, of the 4th of March 1812, in answer to Lord Melville's specific proposition of the 17th Dec. 1811, that the "ships as well as goods of private merchants should be admitted into the trade with India."—In this they state, that they will, though with great reluctance, lay the proposition before the Court of Proprietors—they again express their conviction of the danger to be apprehended from this course both to the Company and the public, and refer to the arguments contained in their letter of the 13th of January, 1809.]

These, continued Mr. Jackson, were the sentiments of a forced agreement procured under a threat of non-intercourse, and it was not a little worthy of remark, that, even at this time, not a word was said by Ministers on the necessity of admitting the *import* trade to the Outports. Even in the observation upon the sixth proposition of the Court of Directors, which was made at a subsequent period, *viz.* 21st March, 1812, the *imports* were still to be confined to the Port of London. Nor was it till the same date that Ministers expressed their intention, that "the ships of private traders should clear out from other ports of the United Kingdom, besides the Port of London." Now, it did seem to him almost impossible to argue, from a concession so very

limited as that which he had stated, that the *Directors themselves*, as Lord Castlereagh asserted, had removed every apprehension of individual access, by allowing the *export* trade to India to be extended—their language being, "that it was a reluctant consent, only obtained by an assurance on the part of His Majesty's Ministers, that they would not agree to recommend the renewal of the Company's Charter without a concession of this point."—What do the Directors say?—"We do not consent—we will submit the question to the Court of Proprietors. We, at the same time, again state all the dangers to which we apprehend the measure will give birth; and we cast upon you the difficulty of discovering some adequate mode of prevention." This was the plain meaning of the language which they held. Without, therefore, going into the merits of the question of unlimited exportation, it was of great importance that the public should be made acquainted with this fact, that the Company never ceased to apprehend the most extensive dangers from such an alteration, and that they repeated every one of them, whenever an opportunity occurred, with the most conscientious conviction of their being well founded;—so that it was impossible for Government to believe that they ever abandoned their original apprehensions.

This fact was further proved, by the conduct which was observed in respect to the sixth proposition of the Court of Directors. It would be remembered, that the Court submitted certain propositions to the Government, as the basis for the renewal of the Charter. Of these the sixth was:, "That the whole of the India trade should be brought to the port of London, and the goods sold at the Company's sales," &c. The answer to which was a full assent. While the first hint in direct contradiction to the eight proposition was to be found in Lord Melville's letter of the 21st of March, in which he observed, that he was not convinced of any reason for limiting the exports to the port of London. To which it was answered, that no sufficient reason had been offered to warrant the departure from that principle. This took place in March, 1812. Therefore, he contended, on the part of the Court of Directors, that when Lord Castlereagh asserted the Company to have abated one jot of their original apprehensions, he had completely misstated them. And every member of the House of Commons, who gave a vote on the suggestion, that the Company themselves entertained no fears on the subject of the projected alterations—they who certainly might be considered the most competent authority on the question,—such member acted on a wrong presumption, and proceeded upon a mistaken foundation.

There were some other points in his Lordship's speech, which equally demanded observation. The noble Lord proceeded to state certain reasons for the alteration which he contemplated; some of which were just as much misstated as that which he had already noticed. He observed, that it was wholly unreasonable that the present trade to India, comprising nearly one half of the habitable globe, should be carried on by the limited capital of the East-India Company, and that of foreigners. Much had been said of the extended allowances given to foreigners. He (Mr. Jackson) had always expressed his hope, that when the Charter should be renewed, it would be to an *English*, and not an *American*, East-India Company. *(Hear! hear!)* He was one of the number who lamented, when those privileges were granted to the Americans; because he considered them as directly operating against the navigation laws, which, he was old-fashioned enough to think, in preference to the new theories and systems that were springing up around them, were, in fact, the very staff of our maritime existence. *(Hear!)* A relaxation from those privileges, he considered as the means of teaching the Americans to beat us; but, whatever evils it had produced, could not be charged to the East-India Company. The acts by which they

were allowed did not proceed from them; they came from the west end of the town, the result of all the wisdom and experience on Indian affairs which was collected there; and the Company were obliged to comply with them. *(Hear! hear!)* When this was the case, he was astonished that the noble Lord, possessing so much candour and fairness, should allege against the Company, the granting of this trade to foreigners, knowing, as he must, that it was imputable to the Government, and not to them. Neither should he have forgotten, that, however objectionable in other points the foreign trade might be, it had brougt immense quantities of bullion into India, where it was imperatively required. He wished, however, that this trade should be transferred to the hands of the British merchant, but through a wholesome and legitimate channel. He had always contended, that whenever the industry, and management, and care, and capital, of the East-India Company should fail to extend the trade to its utmost limits, and he still held the same opinion, that the next preference should be given to the merchant who walked the Royal Exchange, and not to foreigners. He never would stand up in that Court, or elsewhere, to argue against permitting the British subject to participate in that trade; all he maintained was, that it should be

carried on through that medium which the Legislatures had experienced it could controul, and not through channels, which, he foresaw, they never could govern. His Lordship had observed, which was one of his *ad captandum* arguments, that the private-trade to India was almost exclusively in the hands of foreigners. How could his Lordship reason in that way, with a paper in his hand, shewing that the private and privileged British trade had increased in a few years, from £180,000 to £1,200,000 per annum? And that, since the commencement of the present Charter, it had amounted to the sum of £33,000,000 Was this trade carried on by the capital of foreigners? So far, therefore, there was a misstatement; and he trusted the House of Commons would be convinced of it. What! no capital but that of the Company and of foreigners, when no less than £33,000,000, independent of bullion, had been returned in the British privileged and private-trade, within the last twenty years? *(Hear! hear!)*

His Lordship said, "The Company have asserted, that they have extended their commerce to India, as far as possible; but I, differing from them, having at heart the interest of the country at large, think they have not; and, therefore, the public ought to be admitted to try what can be affected by their exertions."

Surely this was begging the question. Have the Company said, at any one period, that they had extended their trade to the utmost? Did not he (Mr. Jackson) say, in answer to a gentleman near him (Mr. Hume) that the privileged import trade had increased, in a few years, from £180,000 to £1,200,000? He had always stated the possibility of increase, with this difference from those who were the advocates of *speculation* and *theory*, that it should be a gradual, regular, progressive increase—not a sudden, adventitious increase, followed by a depression no less sudden. The Company had said, and all experience had shewn, that the former was the only wise and beneficial increase; and every thing which could tend to produce that increase of the trade, the Company had expressed themselves willing to do, and in fact had done. The candour of the noble Lord would, he hoped, admit, that this charge, with respect to the China trade, was equally erroneous. To prove the elasticity of trade, (a principle which he always allowed, only premising that it should be conducted through a proper channel), it had been observed by an honourable gentleman (Mr. Hume), that according to the statements of the Directors, the commerce with China never could exceed 5 or £600,000 per annum, but yet it had latterly gone infinitely beyond that sum.

And he had asked, if the Directors had been taken at their word at that time, what would they have said, when they saw the trade exceeding £1,500,000? This again was begging the question. The Directors had never expressed the opinion which was attributed to them; and it was a fact which could not be shaken, that, at the very time it was imputed to them, that they did not think the China trade could be farther improved, the Company had fitted out one of the most expensive embassies ever dispatched from this country, for the purpose of endeavouring to accomplish that, which they were most unjustly described as having considered impossible.—(*Hear! hear!*) On a former day, he had put a question on this subject to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Hume),—a question, which if he had had the honour of a seat in the House of Commons, he certainly would have stated as strongly and forcibly as possible. He had asked, supposing, at the time it was imputed to the Company, that they believed it impossible to increase the trade to China beyond £600,000 a year, (an assertion which they never did make—for they had always acted on the presumption of an increase, and used every endeavour to promote it; —a grateful nation, amongst other benefits, would never forget, though ignorance or prejudice might,

that, for many years, the Company exported, at an immense loss, articles of British manufacture, merely for the purpose of assisting the manufacturers of this country—a noble trait of liberality, which could only be found in great bodies, like the East India Company, and could not be expected either from the inclination or capacity of individuals);—supposing, then, at the time it was imputed to the Company, that they believed the exports to China could not be farther increased, the gentlemen from Liverpool, Bristol, and Glasgow, (he now spoke of the sober petitioners only) had procured access to Ministers, persuaded them that the trade was capable a vast increase, and that they had been permitted to proceed to China, in the same way as they were at present about to be permitted to go to India; he asked his honorable friend (Mr. Hume) as well as the forms of debate would allow him—of him who had resided long in India—who had paid great attention to the affairs of that country, and who had procured a vast deal of useful information—he had asked him, as a man of honor and a gentleman, did he think, if such permission to proceed to China had been granted, that the China trade would have existed at the present day? His honorable friend had answered, "he believed it would not."

The conduct of the adventurers would have destroyed it;—the use made of such a privilege must have annihilated it. This was a very honorable and a very honest admission, but no more than what he had a right to expect from the candour of his honorable friend; and, he trusted, it would be pressed, in its proper place, as a point of great importance.

The noble Lord asserted, that the *only* way of extending the trade to India, was by throwing it open. This really was the broad hardship of which the Company had to complain, that their sentiments on the subject had not been stated. *All parties* concurred in the desire of extending the trade; and it was with some surprise, and much regret, he observed that, throughout the whole of the noble Lord's arguments, he did not even hint at any alteration or modification, for the purpose of progressively and safely enlarging the trade to India—No: his only remedy was what he called "opening of it." Now, was it not incumbent on the noble Lord, and was it not incumbent on His Majesty's Ministers, before they made such a proposition, to prove, that *all* the trade which it was possible, not to *expect*, but to *have*, could not be embraced through the East-India Company, be kept within the limits and capacity of their control? It was said, difficulties had been thrown in the way of the private adventurers, which ought

not to exist. For argument sake, be it so;—let them be removed.

There was also an argument of affection and kindness sometimes made use of :—" you lose by the trade ; you are at a great expense, annually, in providing 3,000 tons of shipping, for individuals, who do not thank you for it ; you may easily be lightened from this charge."—Be it so—let the private trader freight his own ship—choose his own agent—select his own medium—by this means the Company would be freed from the expense. But it was a little singular to say, provided the merchant used his own ship, and selected his own medium of trade, that there was no other way of extending the commerce of India, but by throwing it unrestrictedly open. On that point, the Company and the government were at issue: and, he trusted, that such evidence would be produced before the House of Commons, as would shew a perfect capacity of extending the trade to India, supposing it to be capable of extension, *bona fide*, and without shackles, and, at the same time, preventing those dangers which were apprehended. He spoke of real and decided means for the extension of the trade, if the thing were possible—for he agreed that it would be most improper

" To keep the word of promise to the ear,
" And break it to the heart ! "

If private adventurers were to be admitted, in their own ships, he thought it should be to the fullest extent. But when the noble Lord said this could only be by opening the trade from every port to every port, he (Mr. Jackson) besought him to suspend his judgment, till the Company had an opportunity of shewing, that it could be extended as occasion might require, and, at the same time, retain its original channel. The reason the noble Lord gave for thus opening the trade, did not appear to him to be quite correct nor candid. He asserted, that the capital of the East-India Company was not equal to an increase of its trade. But the fact was not as it had been stated—the Company were equal to what they undertook—and, on this point, the statement made, on that day, by the hon. Chairman, was deserving of particular notice. "Let the commercial capital of the Company be appropriated to commercial purposes, and it is perfectly sufficient. But, if you, *the State,* having a control over our funds, command us to divert them to other pursuits—though they may be the means of supporting your pride and glory—though they may enable you, the House of Commons, to exclaim, "behold the mighty empire we possess!" still, undoubtedly, in a commercial point of view, we are injured by this diversion of our

revenue." The State, however, had no right to turn round on the Company and say, "you have performed great achievements for your country, but they have swallowed up those funds which should have been devoted to commerce; that commerce, therefore, must be taken from you." The Company might answer such ingratitude thus:—"cease to divert our commercial capital to political purposes, and it will be amply sufficient. If our trade is then narrowed, reproach us with it; but do not divest our funds, and afterwards accuse us with that which yourselves have occasioned." (*Hear! hear!*)

This part of his argument the noble Lord endeavoured to illustrate by what he called a reference to fact, which, however, failed him. He stated, as a proof of the Company's want of capital, that they had been obliged to resort to the money market of India, where they borrowed at 12 per cent. not for political, but for commercial, purposes. Some of the money which was procured, Mr. Jackson admitted, might have been employed, *eo nomine*, to increase investments.—But how was this occasioned? Because a part of the money, primarily intended for investments, *was* diverted, by superior orders, to political purposes. "The state compels you to divest part of your territorial revenues; and because you borrow

money to supply the deficiency thus created, it is directed against you as a reproach!—*(Hear! hear!)*—It is certainly true, in fact; because you applied the sums, originally intended for investments, to the support of armies in the field, and other warlike purposes, that you have made good the deficit by loans. And, therefore, it is argued, that you have borrowed money for commercial purposes, and an *ergo* follows, that you have not capital enough to carry on your commerce"—*(Hear! hear!)* But he was not without hope, from the candour of the noble Lord's disposition, that he would see the fact in its true light, and become convinced of the injustice which was done to the Company.

The noble Lord, in a most constitutional manner, and in the very spirit of all that had been said, by Lord Melville, Mr. Pitt, and other great and eminent patriots, and in opposition to a variety of intimations which had been held out *in terrorem*, admitted that, in a certain point of view, it was necessary and expedient that the patronage of India should remain with the Company. He did not think it a safe deposit to be entrusted with any administration; and he broadly stated this as a reason for placing the patronage abroad, in the hands of those who had always made so just a use of it.—*(Hear! hear!)* Now when the Court recollected, that, in one of

the letters transmitted to the President of the Board of Controul this very point was touched upon; when it was recollected, that the reasoning adduced in that letter (to shew the danger which would probably result to the constitution, if the patronage of India was not suffered to remain with the Company) was treated with the most bitter sarcasm; when it was satirically observed by the nobleman, with whom they were in correspondence, "that it was very kind in them (the East-India Company) to interfere for the safety and protection of the constitution, but that even, should the Company cease to exist, the constitution would still go on;" or words to that effect, for something like this might, he believed, be found, in the answer of the noble Lord;—although the Directors were not giving any sentiments of their own, but literally quoting those of Mr Pitt and Lord Melville, and stating their coincidence in that opinion;—under these circumstances, it must be highly gratifying to them to see Lord Castlereagh coming forward, and, by his constitutional and patriotic declaration, saying "that the patronage of India, and the liberties of England, would not be consistent with each other, if the same persons presided over both," clearly proving the misapplication of those sarcastic remarks—*(Hear! hear!)*

His Lordship had observed, that very great modification would still be necessary.—To this the Company had no objection. They agreed to as large and as liberal a modification as could be consistently required; all they demanded was, to preserve the channel through which the trade had so long and so beneficially flowed. Now it might be supposed, that he (Mr. Jackson) wished it to be confined to that medium, for the purpose of deriving the profit of some two or three hundred thousand pounds a year from it:—but it was not so.—And here the noble Lord furnished him with an argument—an argument founded on the wisdom and experience of all the eminent men who had been employed in India—an argument, which, while it shewed the necessity of continuing the trade in its present channel, fully developed the dangers which the Company dreaded. He might state the argument boldly in that Court, without apprehending the mischief, which, were it less familiar, it would perhaps produce, if it reached the ears of an Indian chieftain—he meant the maxim that "*the empire of India, is dependent upon opinion*" It is a government, by which, as was very justly observed in the House of Commons, 1600 persons ruled over from 50 to 60,000,000. It was true, the Company possessed an army, never exceeded for loyalty or

courage—never excelled for any quality which a general could desire in his troops, or a country hope for in its defenders—*(Hear! hear!)*—but still the government of India was a government of opinion! — Let him, then, who believed it to be a government of opinion, lay his hand upon his heart, and ask himself, if the detracting from the dignity of the East-India Company, by taking away that commerce by which its greatness was upheld, would not so lower the *opinion* of its firmness, stability, and power, in the eyes of the natives of India, as to endanger the safety and security of our eastern empire?—*(Hear! hear!)*—Was it likely, when the natives of that country saw an indiscriminate host of traders coming to deal amongst them, that they would retain their present respect for our character? Would they not contrast the meanness of all they saw with the splendour which once shone around the East-India Company? Would they not lose that feeling of veneration, the great engine of authority, when they saw that that authority no longer existed in the Company — when they no longer beheld in them the advancers of money, the anticipating purchasers of their manufactures, the upholders of fair and liberal prices from their two-fold character of sovereign

and merchant,—the dispensers of innumerable blessings, the promoters of comfort, the undeviating advocates of justice? With the information which they would soon possess upon the whole of this subject, was it to be supposed that they would continue to preserve the same ideas of the Company's grandeur and munificence which they now manifested? If they did not, then, *ergo*, the government of the Company, this government of opinion, must inevitably fall.—That government, the very existence of which was then threatened, supplied an annual revenue to the country of about £4,500,000. It was, (continued the learned Gentleman,) a mistake in the paper which he held in his hand which stated it at £3,500,000—it was one of those misprints, which should be properly corrected and rightly understood by the public. When they (*the public*) knew the wonderful stake which they had in the existence of the East-India Company—when they saw a sum, not of £3,500,000, but of almost £4,500,000, confessedly put in peril, —they ought to know exactly what advantage they were likely to derive from the risk. When they saw such a sum placed in jeopardy, to satisfy those who did not even affect to possess any experience—to support their suggestions—they ought not to be influenced by the plausibility of their doctrines, or the artfulness of their reason-

ing.—Let them contemplate the Company, pouring their extensive wealth into the coffers of the state:—let them view that great body emptying this immense *cornucopia* into the treasury of the country, almost without an effort on the part of the Government:—let them do this, and they would then easily decide between the Company and their accusers—*(Hear! hear!)*.—Another reason which had been adduced by the noble Lord to support the necessity of throwing open the trade, was, the possibility of a great Company growing too large for its original and particular powers. He thought none of those whom he addressed could have any other feeling, but that the mighty empire, which the noble Lord feared would grow too great and powerful, must moulder under the regulations proposed by him.

But when his Lordship argued, that the East India Company was growing too large for itself; that its commerce, as well as its internal arrangements, were become too bulky for its own welfare, and that any increase of commerce would aggravate the evil thus complained of, he must beg to deny that proposition: for, in answer to this mistaken idea, he would refer his Lordship to the best of all authorities,—to the reports and representations of the executive body. Let the noble Lord call before him the Company's officers and the Direc-

tors, and he (Mr. Jackson) would risk the whole question upon the result of his enquiry from them, whether, since the private and privilege trade of the Company had increased, in a ratio of from £180,000 to about £3,000,000 per annum, the alarm had not completely failed, and that in the same proportion was the ability of the Company to manage their affairs shown to be strengthened and increased. He would rest the whole question upon this examination. For his own part, he hesitated not to state, that since its trade had increased and its commercial relations extended, the whole system of regulation had not merely improved but flourished: indeed, he would only refer to an honorable gentleman near him (Mr. Hume), whose statements upon the subject he was happy to acknowledge to be not only correct, but highly important, for the confirmation of what he advanced. Surely then, the noble Lord would not put his mistaken authority, and perhaps erroneous information, in competition with the judges upon the subject; judges who would inform him, that the policy adopted by the East India Company was such, that as their affairs became multifarious, so regularity and arrangement had enabled them to make the true advantage of every accession to their establishmant. The excellence of the system adopted by the Company

was such, that while it was well contrived it was as well executed. Why, then, if it was allowed that when their commerce was infinitely increased, with the extension of their territorial boundaries; if the same wisdom and salutary arrangement in their affairs had followed the ratio of their increased property; who was the man that would say, judging from experience, that the Company's affairs were becoming too extensive, and too large for their own weight? It would be unnecessary for him to point out the arrangement adopted for the increase of the trade and commerce of the Company. Sufficient it was to observe that docks, wharfs, warehouses, and every convenience had been erected, to meet the exigencies of an increasing and flourishing system. The argument, therefore, would follow, if the opinions of those who thought like his Lordship were adopted,—that although, to a certain extent, the Company's affairs had become better and better, yet if they went farther, they would grow worse and worse. (*Hear! hear!*)

The noble Lord had said that there was great necessity for retrenchment in the Company's expences. He, himself, for one, had no doubt of its necessity. He knew it had been reiterated, from the side of the bar at which he addressed the Court, as an argument that would be likely to

have weight with Ministers, that there must be *great* retrenchment.—Be it so. He was satisfied that there was no objection on the part of the Company; on the contrary, there was a most anxious wish on their part to adopt every measure calculated to reduce their expences, as far as consistent with the real interests of the Company. They would never (he was persuaded) allow such an argument as this to remain in the hands of Government for refusing them their assistance. He knew the Company to be serious in their intentions in this respect; because recent accounts had shewn, that the executive Government had introduced the most wholesome and politic regulations; and they had, in a great degree, perhaps in a wonderful degree, accomplished this desirable object. Though aware, as he was, of the expensive political arrangements which had taken place, yet by the Company's last accounts of their surplus fund, when it was not expected to be more than *half* a million, it amounted to *one million and a half*. The work, therefore, of economical arrangement having begun in so surprising a manner, to the advantage of the Country and the Company, he only invited them most earnestly, to carry the principle into execution, as far as a reference to the liberal and wholesome support of their establishments

would honorably and advantageously allow.—Indeed, such a suggestion was unnecessary, when it was recollected *who* were the honorable persons at the head of affairs and had the conducting of their internal arrangements. Principles of sound policy as well as of justice would dictate to *them* a course of conduct upon which, they knew, must depend the strength, the welfare, and the stability of the Indian Empire.

There was another point in the noble Lord's resolutions he should advert to, or rather merely mention, that it might not be said he either passed it over or that he committed himself upon it. The point he alluded to, was, upon the subject of Religion. It was intended by these resolutions to have a Bishop and three Archdeacons introduced into the establishment in India. If he knew any thing of his own way of feeling, no man was more desirous than he was, that every Christian should have means of adoring his God, according to the principles that he professed, and according to the faith that he might have been instructed in. No man in that Court, he had no hesitation in saying, felt more than he did, the impolicy as well as the injustice of a rash and improvident introduction of spiritual teachers among the nations of the East. But, at the same time, if he knew himself, no man would more sincerely rejoice over an igno-

rant Pagan brought from the darkness of his superstition into the light of Christianity than he would: because he knew that such a change would give him happiness here and secure eternal blessings to him hereafter. It would be inconsistent with all those ordinary feelings of humanity, with the philanthropy which he was sure had always distinguished the Company in every stage, and in every step of its policy, if (always avoiding the rash progress of intemperate zeal) they did not wish to promote the interests of true Religion; and, if he knew any thing of the history of the Company, it had shewn that there was always a disposition, on the part of the executive Government, to extend the blessings of divine truth wherever they would be received in India; and he still hoped that the same spirit would actuate the conduct of the future Government of that country, which had characterized the present and former Governments, with so much pious and christian feeling. He was quite satisfied there was a proper disposition in the Company to pay every degree of deference and respect to the hierarchy and the system of church government in this country: but, at the same time, every man knew that there was a natural disposition in mankind to aspire to place, to power, and to authority. The Company, and all men, had seen

that even the *Clergy* were not exempt from that feeling, in this country; and that they sought after those dispensations of the Government under which we lived. It must be obvious, that it would be difficult, in the present state of the world, to preserve spiritual humility uninfluenced by temporal ambition: and any man of common sense must see the same disposition which marked the Clergy at home must adhere to them abroad. He felt every disposition in the world, to pay due honor and reverence to the hierarchy and clergy of this country; but when he understood it was intended to introduce a Bishop and three Archdeacons into India, he thought he should not discharge his duty as an honest man, if he did not say that it was a matter which deserved the most serious consideration. His present impressions were, that it was highly necessary to the welfare of a state to have such an established religion, and that such religion should be governed with due subordination and upon principles consistent with its own safety. For his own part, he should like to see every unassuming, every pious pastor of the Church, well remunerated and provided for. The example of every other state of Europe bore testimony to the policy and the wisdom of making a national provision for the Clergy. But he confessed,

for one, he did not want to introduce into our East India territories, and our religious establishment in that country, that sort of high and vaunting ambition, which he knew to be inseparable from the possession of church dignity; and it did seem to him that the proposed germ of episcopal grandeur would, at no very distant time, spread itself wide, and interweave its branches with the very government and politics of India. It was impossible to disconnect lofty ambition from high station: and whether that high station be given to a churchman or to a man in civil authority, ambition, and love of power, could not be separated from the possessors of exalted situations and places of great trust. He merely suggested these observations with a view to impress upon the Court the necessity of considering, with becoming seriousness, a matter of such vast importance to the internal peace and welfare of our Indian territorial possessions.

He was now going to observe upon another point which he thought was of very serious moment. It was this: that though it was proposed by Ministers in the most unlimited degree, and though it was pressed upon the House of Commons by arguments of great earnestness, in point of policy and justice, that

all the people of the British Empire, from every port in Great Britain, ought to be allowed to trade to our East Indian ports,—(which ports, by the way, it was to be recollected, were all the Company's, either by purchase or legal cession)—that although they were to be allowed to trade to all our ports, to make use of all our harbours, to occupy our wharfs and warehouses, and to make use of all those conveniences erected by the Company for its own commerce, which had cost them so much pains, time, trouble, expence, and difficulty to complete, and by which the strength of their armies were required to protect and secure from the inroads of invading enemies;—to all these advantages, which had cost the India Company so many millions, were the new adventurers to be admitted:—yet there was not the most distant hint at *remuneration*, from one end of the noble Lord's speech to the other! Now, he confessed, he could not say that this savoured very much of justice. However, he must attribute so important an omission to inadvertency and the pressure of other matters upon the mind of the noble Lord: he could not suppose that His Majesty's Ministers would deliberately tell the East India Company that they were to give up all these advantages for nothing.

Most honorable men they were in their private characters, and therefore he could not anticipate such a conclusion to the negociation upon this subject. Others might dispute their claims to talent and political consequence. This was no theatre to discuss such points: but he believed there was no dissentient voice in that Court from his opinion, that there never was an administration which composed a greater body of private worth, of private character, of honesty and upright intention, than distinguished the present administration. (*Hear! hear!*) The noble Lord at the head of Indian affairs would forgive him if he had treated his official letters with any thing like severity of remark, but the least doubt of his integrity was a feeling he could not manifest with any degree of justice to his own intentions; because he believed that, in point of private worth and honor, that noble Lord would yield to none: therefore, from their virtue, their liberality, their integrity, and above all, their JUSTICE, he expected much. He was persuaded that when such a proposition as that which he would now put, was suggested to their honorable minds, their feelings of probity and justice must prompt them to consider this part of the subject in a manner more conducive to the interests of the Company. Was the Company, he

would say to the noble Lord, to receive no compensation for all those advantages that had cost them so much blood and treasure?—the latter of which, it was said, amounted to at least £20,000,000 of money? Were they to receive no remuneration from those who were thus to derive these advantages which the Company had, during a period of a hundred years and more, acquired by the most active industry — by the most liberal expence—by a profuse effusion of blood—by enduring the greatest hardships and anxieties—by sustaining the greatest losses—and by all those exertions which had characterized the enterprising spirit of an enterprising Company? Were the advantages of a commerce almost ready made to their hands, with all the implements and convenience of carrying it on with advantage to themselves—were all these objects, he asked, to be ceded to the merchants of the Outports, without the least remuneration for the advantages to be so acquired? Now, for his own part, he would willingly put that consideration to the merchants of Liverpool, the merchants of Glasgow, and all the sober and rational petitioners against the East India Charter.—He made this distinction of *sober* and *rational*, because, as he had already noticed, on another accasion, there were two species of petitions,—namely, the sober com-

mercial petitions, and the *poetical* petitions. (*A burst of laughter*.) The *poetical* petitions, he confessed, contained flights of fancy which were beyond his humble comprehension. It was true the sober commercial petitions contained points to which he did not subscribe; but he believed there was no man out of *St. Luke's Hospital* could subscribe to the others, when they came seriously to be considered. (*Bursts of laughter.*) These poetico-politico petitioners were pleased to consider, that every species, and every description of colonial regulation was an *usurpation of the inherent and unalienable rights of man*; and they desired that the East India Company should be pulled down and completely effaced, as a political and moral nuisance. That East India Company, which Lord Castlereagh said had raised an empire for its country, of a kind unexampled in the history of the world! that East India Company upon whose policy and upon whose government Lord Castlereagh had bestowed such just praise—but yet which these gentlemen were pleased, in their *wise* notions of political œconomy, to designate as "a political and a moral nuisance". But the more grave and circumspect petitions, such as those from Liverpool, Glasgow, and other places (which he would not trouble the Court by naming), demanded, and were indeed entitled to a fair

degree of consideration, as well from the Company as from the Country. To *them* he should feel no hesitation in putting the Company's case, and saying—"do you think it just and right that you should be admitted to this participation of what is called the dead stock of the Company, and of the various implements which we have erected for the purposes of commerce, without paying to us a fair and liberal consideration?"

For his own part, he thought, judging of the disposition they had seemed to manifest, that they would say—No. He therefore did think, when the matter came to be more liberally and more justly represented to the House, they would see that it would be most injurious and most unjust to deal thus by the East-India Company. He had too high an opinion of the liberality of Parliament to think they would seriously and deliberately impose such hard terms upon them. Why, then, let the Court pause for a moment;—and he desired it to be understood merely as a hint that had occurred to his mind—but still it was matter of extreme importance to a measure of this kind, and it would be proper that the Company should not lose any opportunity of discussing all the propositions which were likely to be submitted, whether approved of by Parliament or not, in order that

when the question came before the House they should be able to meet all possible or imaginable difficulties. Now, he would suppose, that after all the evidence which might be produced before the House—after all the arguments which might be urged on both sides of the question—Parliament should at length come to a decision that the proposition for opening the trade to India should be carried, might not the Company, in that event, he would ask, be fairly and reasonably remunerated in some such way as *this*:—to allow them a proper and reasonable impost upon all commerce carried on by British merchants in this country to and from India?—That impost to be applied in this way. At present, by the act of 1793, under which the guarantee fund was established, it was provided that a guarantee fund should be settled for the purpose of remunerating the Company whenever their charter should be determined. It would be recollected that he had had the honour to observe when the Court first met on this question—(and it founded the ground-work of one of his Resolutions) that notwithstanding at the last renewal of the Company's charter, the late Lord Melville had admitted very fairly and very reasonably, that inasmuch as Parliament thought proper to take a proportion of the Company's trade from them, the Company ought in that proportion to be remunerated, and had raised their dividend

accordingly. He (Mr. Jackson) had the present Lord Melville's opinions on that subject in his hand, and his Lordship, he observed, stated in his letter, that not only all due care should be taken by Parliament to preserve the Proprietors in their rights, but that due consideration should be had for their commercial advantages, and the means by which they had hitherto carried on their trade in the East. Now, at present, there was not a single hint of that kind stated by Lord Castlereagh in his propositions to the House of Commons. But he was sure, whether that was or was not one of the noble Lord's propositions, that when the question should come to be fully considered—when the numerous papers and mass of important information in possession of the Company came to be laid before Parliament—he was persuaded they should not have to complain of the injustice of those to whom their cause was referred.—They would agree, he trusted, in the justice of the proposition, that those from whom the commerce was to be taken away, ought to receive every remuneration in the power of the country to give. "If the opening of the trade"—said Mr. Jackson—"be so mighty a boon to the adventurers—if it be of such vast benefit to the commercial interests of this country—if it be an object of the ardent hopes and sanguine wishes of the whole nation at large, surely the

nation can afford something for it. (Hear! hear!) And to whom should they pay, but to those from whom they take?"—Now though perhaps, in a particular distribution, by way of increased dividend to the proprietors, the plan he would suggest might might not be approved, yet if the mode of remuneration was founded upon a general, though moderate impost, in the manner charged at present upon the private trade, it would be less objectionable and meet with less difficulty than if it were proposed immediately to raise the dividend on the Company's stock, as done at the last renewal of the Charter.

Supposing, therefore, this moderate duty or rate upon the Indian commerce of the country was to be imposed for a given time, to accumulate as a guarantee fund, to be paid in the name of the Commissioners of the Treasury, under such a commission as now exists in this country; these duties to continue, till they amount with interest to a sum of twelve millions of money, to act as a sinking fund, and to be subject to the same regulations, for the Company's use, for the payment of their debts, and so forth, as is provided with regard to the present guarantee fund, it would be, in his opinion, the most unobjectionable mode of remunerating the Company. This guarantee fund was a security which the late Lord Melville had suggested and admitted to be fair and equitable; which the act

of 1793 admitted to be just; and, he trusted, Lord Castlereagh would concur in recommending that this guarantee fund should be efficient, as he had declared that he thought nothing could be more unadvisable than to hold out hopes which could not be realised.

He (Mr. Jackson) therefore took it for granted, that when that noble Lord proposed the guarantee fund, he did not mean that it should be a *theoretical* fund; for that would have been unjust and a complete delusion upon the Company. Therefore, if the Government were serious, and meant that it should be *real*, not *visionary*, he saw no reason why a principle thus sanctioned by the authority of an act of parliament, should not be made effectual as to its object. He would therefore just suggest, not an unreasonable, but a reasonable impost, upon all trade to and from India, deriving protection and advantage from the Company's establishments, till it amounted to the sum of twelve millions sterling, the sum proposed by Lord Castlereagh. This was merely an intimation or suggestion for the consideration of the Court; and if there were one proposition, on the face of it, more just, more safe, more worthy the importance of the subject, and more equal in its operation than another, he thought it was the present; and he was not without hopes that something of the kind might take place.

Now with regard to the justice of this plan, one short proposition would, he thought, establish it. He believed that what was called the Company's *dead stock* in India, including wharfs, quays, warehouses, and a variety of other conveniences for commerce, were estimated at about twelve millions. He would, however, say ten millions, the interest of which would be £500,000 per annum; where, then, he would ask (as had been forcibly urged by the Deputy Chairman in the House of Commons), was the hardship of making the merchants thus trading to and from the Company's territories, pay a moderate duty, or some due consideration, for the advantages which they would thus derive? The Americans paid a double duty for much more limited advantages than those proposed to be given to the merchants of the British empire. If the principle were agreed to, he meant to suggest that the duties should accumulate, perhaps with Indian interest, till they should amount to the sum limited for the guarantee fund. This, he thought, was the least the Company could expect under all circumstances. To the country it could be no loss, but, on the contrary, would accelerate the participation of the public in the profits of the Company, as the next appropriation, after the completion of the guarantee fund,

was five-sixths to Government; consequently, if that fund should be completed in seven or ten years, the sooner would the public derive this very considerable proportion of the Company's profits. It appeared to him (Mr. J.) to be as just and as rational a proposition as could be suggested, and, with all the deference that became him, he took the liberty of throwing it out for the consideration of the Court.

With many apologies for having detained the Court so long, he should briefly recapitulate the main arguments of the noble Lord, and the state of the question between the Company and his Lordship. The proposition contended for was, that the Company neither did or could carry on the Indian trade to the extent which it admitted of, and that the natives might, by an open trade, be induced to a much greater consumption of European commodities. His Lordship therefore proposed to Parliament, that the trade should be thrown entirely open, that is, that British subjects at large should be at liberty to trade from every port in the United Kingdom to every port within the limits of the Company's Charter, except Canton, thus allowing to them the vast and uncontrouled range of the Indian Ocean and the Eastern Seas; from whence they were to be at liberty to import into

every port of the United Kingdom, as soon as such port should be rendered sufficiently secure for the bonded system. Now the Directors had declared unanimously, and in the most solemn manner, that if such a supersession of their trade and authority should take place, the East India Company could not continue to exist, but that the whole system must determine. Then came this short question, what should the Company do to avert this great and mighty evil? The House of Commons had evidently indicated a wish, that evidence should be produced at their bar; and the noble Lord had agreed that the Company should have leave to shew cause, as it were, against such of his resolutions as they thought most deeply to affect them. They would therefore be permitted to prove the danger to be justly apprehended to the British empire in India, from the indiscriminate access to its shores of adventurers, as unlimited in number as description. —The utter improbability of any increased use or consumption of European articles among the natives—their ample supply at present—and the facility with which that supply could be increased, if necessary, through its present safe and well guarded medium. The noble Lord had, of course, before he proposed so wide, so extensive, and so adventurous a plan, as the opening of

every port in India to every person in the United Kingdom who might choose to resort to it, made up his mind as to the consequences which he was risking to the empire, and to that very trade itself which he was so anxious to extend. This was the question at issue. The Company were prepared to shew calamity and disaster inevitable, and increased consumption, for which the risk was professed to be encountered, almost impossible. He could not (Mr. Jackson said) sum up his own ideas upon the subject, so well as by referring to the short but luminous argument of a right honourable gentleman, whose quickness of conception the House had so often witnessed. "You admit," said the right honourable member, "that the empire is perfect—that its magnitude and strength excites your wonder, and its administration by the Company's servants extorts your praise—that that which, five and twenty years back, was treated in this House but as a splendid dream, has now become, by progressive care, wisdom, and understanding of the subject, a glorious reality, and yourself have drawn such a picture of our Indian empire as, in a political point of view, leaves the country every thing to rejoice at, and nothing to wish for, consequently the question is reduced to the single consideration of an *extension of trade*,

Let us then hear evidence at the bar, as to the probability and measure of this extension, that the House may judge, if, for the sake of it, they will risk impairing or losing so great a political blessing as that which you have described. It is said that the Indian trade, at present, yields an average profit of £400,000. per. annum; supposing it be increased to eight hundred thousand, was the House prepared to say that the difference bore any proportion to the apprehended risk? The degree of danger from indiscriminate access, and lowering the authority and influence of the Company, contrasted with the supposed degree of extension of trade, seemed to him to comprise the main part of the question, and upon that he wished to hear the evidence of those who had been long in India, and were the most capable of informing the House."—Such (Mr. Jackson said) seemed to be the course for the Company to pursue, in order to enable the Houses of Parliament to judge if the Petitioners had made out any case, which could justify the known peril of superseding the functions of the Company, and lowering its influence and reputation among the natives, by a coercive transfer of its commerce.

After a few observations, touching the probable course of proceeding which the House of

Commons would adopt, the honorable and learned Proprietor concluded, by apologising for having occupied so much of the time of the Court, but justified himself upon the improbability of their meeting again before the discussion should take place in Parliament, and the importance of which he conceived it to be, that the Court should be fully possessed of the nature of the situation in which the Proprietors then stood.—(*Hear! hear!*)

Mr. *Lowndes* and Mr. *Hume* rose almost at the same instant; but the Chairman gave precedence to

Mr. *Hume*, who said he was extremely sorry that he should have prevented the honourable Gentleman from addressing the Court; but he assured him that it was not his intention to detain the Court for any considerable length of time.

It certainly was not his wish either to answer or to follow his learned friend (Mr. Jackson) through his able, perspicuous, and long discourse, which, he was sure, every one present must have heard with considerable pleasure and satisfaction. (*Hear! hear!*)—There were, however, some few points of his speech to which he would wish shortly to address himself: but his chief view in rising now, was to consider what the object of

this meeting was,—namely, the resolutions now before them; and to talk of them generally and abstractedly. He was not desirous of discussing them particularly; but, in a general view, to consider how far the object and tendency of them would be advantageous to the Company, or advisable, if the Company should give their sanction to the Legislature to carry them into effect.

It was his satisfaction, on a former day, to signify his feeble but ample testimony to the merits of the government of the East-India Company. He was sorry, however, to think that any reference or allusion was made, of an invidious nature, to the labours of those who had the government of the East-India Company abroad and at home—labours which, he hoped, would be long continued with the same success and advantage to the affairs of the Company. He was happy that he now heard nothing more of those allusions; for every where, as far as he had heard, the country was ringing with the praises of the Company, and re-echoing with the applause due to its wise administration, and the immense progress made in its government abroad. It was satisfactory to him, and to every one, to compare what had taken place within the period of one short year, in the opinion of the public, respect-

ing India affairs, with the state of the public mind at no very distant period. This happy change must be attributed to the agency of many of those gentlemen who sat within the bar, to whose dignified and proper conduct he had no hesitation in saying, was owing that great amelioration in the public sentiment; and he could not but hope that such an alteration would be attended with the greatest possible advantage to the affairs of the Company, when this subject came to be fully stimated by the administration of the country. The greatest regard was certainly due to the manner in which they had conducted themselves upon this momentous occasion. He was extremely anxious,—as the noble Lord who brought forward the subject in the House of Commons, had met the views of the Company with so much candour and liberality,—that the Company should manifest every disposition on their parts, to conciliate the good opinion of the Government, not only in every word and expression which might be construed into a feeling of irritation injurious to the result of this great question, but that they should also, by their acts, shew a disposition to meet the Ministry upon the same terms of liberality by which *they* appeared to be actuated. He had the satisfaction

to hear from the lips of the noble Lord the declaration of a wish, not only on *his* part, but on the part of the *whole of His Majesty's Ministers*, to meet, fairly and liberally, contending opinions, and propose such terms as would satisfy the wishes of *all* parties.

He (Mr. Hume) would repeat again, what he had taken the liberty to state on another occasion, that it was not in the power of His Majesty's Ministers to act as they could wish; it was not for them to pronounce decisively upon this subject, or acquiesce implicitly with the demands of the Company, or refuse to consider the statements made by gentlemen connected with the Outports. It was therefore satisfactory to find, upon a review of every thing stated by the noble Lord, that he, in his high office as a minister of state, had signified, with so much liberality and so much gentlemanly candour, a wish to meet the desires of the Company—that he, as a British statesman, should have shewn so much willingness and encouraging assurance in the dispensation of one of the greatest questions ever brought before the Legislature, in every point of view, whether it was weighed upon commercial or political considerations. Happy, therefore, was he to find that tendency, and that wish, on the part of the noble Lord, to meet the views of all parties; and, con-

sidering that it must be attended with the greatest advantage to the public, he was anxious, as indeed he always had been, that the Company, on their part, should shew the utmost willingness to meet the Ministry, on the present occasion; because he was persuaded that a readiness to comply with the wishes of the Administration to accommodate all parties, must be attended with the most important consequences.—He strongly recommended, as the best way of adjusting the matter, that each party should give up something which they considered themselves entitled to. *That* was the way most likely to promote the interests of both, and conciliate the good-will of each other. Impressed, therefore, strongly with these ideas, he was anxious to take a short view of the Resolutions, as they had been now proposed to the House of Commons. In the first place, he begged to remind the Court that it was not to be considered that these resolutions were *final*. It was to be recollected that they were only *the recommendations* of His Majesty's Ministers. The Court were not to conclude that every one of them was to be carried into effect, unless they met the wishes and views of all the parties interested; and unless they would be likely to meet the approbation, as well of the India Company as of the Public; and improve the commerce of

the Country. They were not to be taken *now* as points which were to be subject to no revision nor amendment, if they were in any one instance objectionable. In the mean time, however, he invited the Court to consider, how far they were equal, to what the most sanguine expectations anticipated from them; how far they were consistent with the trade to India, as particularly confined to the India Company, or open generally to the merchants. He invited them to consider, whether the objects now proposed by His Majesty's Ministers to be recommended for the adoption of the Legislature, did not meet with the most sanguine views which every disinterested man could entertain. Leaving out of his consideration the clamour and outcry on one side, and the inordinate expectations which might, perhaps, be entertained by some members of the Court of Proprietors, he, for one, though he felt as anxious for the interests of the East-India Company as any man, did consider them extremely liberal; and he thought the Ministers were entitled to their warmest thanks for the readiness with which they came forward in resisting the demands of the Outports, as ruinous as they were absurd, and as improper as they were fallacious.

Upon that ground, he availed himself of

his right to call the attention of the Court to their proceedings, in respect of those Resolutions. It was well known, from the earliest establishment of the Company, that the Court of Directors had the most important duties to perform. They were not only important, but they were extensive and complicated, and as various as they were arduous. But, nevertheless, it was well known that their duties were performed with as great precision as if they were infinitely less numerous. It might, therefore, be very proper for this Court to reflect, how far it was possible to carry on the same independent government after the Outports were open, and with as much harmony and advantage as had been experienced during the last eighteen years. He was anxious, therefore, to point out a suggestion, which he hoped the Court would consider as coming from a mind anxiously disposed towards the welfare of the Company. It was a suggestion of his, with a view to point out, that the Court ought to meet His Majesty's Ministers upon the same friendly disposition, which those Ministers had manifested towards them.

He found, in the propositions which had been submittted to Parliament, that, by the 15th and 16th Resolutions, Ministers intended to continue to the East-India Company the

whole management of their extensive territories, with all its important privileges and advantages, in the civil and military government, which they had hitherto enjoyed. The Court of Directors, he believed, could not have expected such advantageous terms; but, on the contrary, that they would have been called upon to give some pecuniary consideration for the renewal of those advantages. This was not the case; it was proposed to continue the Company in the whole management of all the military, civil, and every other advantage connected with the government of their Indian possessions. It was also proposed to arm them, and put them in possession of every means of guarding against any danger that might possibly occur. He was sure he could not be mistaken in this proposition, because he had in his hand a few notes which he thought contained the sense of His Majesty's Ministers upon this subject. If he had not the precise words, he was certain he had the sense and sum of them. Lord Castlereagh said, "it was *his* intention, and that of His Majesty's Ministers also, to leave the East-India Company in full possession of all their authority, and every dependency thereunto belonging." In order to guard against those dangers which some gentlemen had so confidently insisted would fol-

low, should the trade be opened to the Outports, the Government had left nothing whatever to chance. They proposed to place the executive power of India in the hands of those officers to whom the command should be granted, under the sanction of the Company. It was intended to leave to them that power which could assure to this Court the absolute dominion of all their dependencies and territories in the East. Whatever might be the alarms and terrors of some gentlemen, the Court would still have the advantage of guarding against any interference that might be attempted in the affairs of their Indian settlements, unless the Government chose to explain to them their reasons at full length for making any alteration; but he knew it to be the serious intention of Ministers, that the complete government of India should be still left in the hands of the Company, with full authority to controul every class of persons who should have access to their territories, and to guard against any threatened danger to their dominion. With these general powers, then,—with the civil authority in their hands,—with the arms, and the whole of the military force under their command,—with all the full means of protection, where was the danger to be apprehended to the stability of their establishments? Ministers had

wisely thought, that the safety of the East-Indian possessions depended upon this arrangement; but, at the same time, the Company ought to be no less impressed with the importance of the advantages allowed them.—Was it nothing, he would ask, to have the whole command of the military at their disposal? Was it nothing to be still kept in possession of those institutions by which protection and personal liberty were secured to their subjects? Was it nothing, to be allowed to keep up 150,000 of the finest troops, perhaps, in the world, which was certainly the best means of backing the orders of their government?—For his own part, he thought these two points—namely, the military and civil power,—were of themselves sufficient to assure the Company against all apprehension of danger to their authority. They had that which constituted the safety of every country; and, therefore, in his opinion, the Company ought cautiously and seriously to reflect, whether, when so many advantages were given to them, they ought not to relinquish other minor points, which, even if granted, might be of little consequence.

But considering it necessary in a discussion of this nature, to guard against the vicious effects of popular delusion and erroneous conception upon

another point, he invited the Court to consider what the Government were disposed to do, upon the subject of the *China Trade*, and this, certainly, to the Company, was the most interesting and important, in a commercial point of view. Government were disposed to give the Company the most beneficial and the most valuable of all the Company's privileges. They were disposed to secure to them the China Trade, without the smallest interference or interposition, on the part of the Outports. So far was the commerce to China guaranteed.—And here, he must say, as he had said upon a former occasion, it was his confirmed opinion, that His Majesty's Ministers would do wrong in suffering any interference upon the part of the Outports in the trade of the Indian Archipelago.—*(Hear! hear! hear!)* He took the liberty of shewing, on the former occasion, the difficulties of carrying on that trade, in a two-fold view: In the first place, the extreme danger of the navigation of those seas, the shoals, tempestuous winds, intricate channels, and the dangers of imperfectly known difficulties; and, in the next place, the savage, barbarous, and intractable disposition of the inhabitants of those islands, which sometimes was productive of the most serious consequences to the persons who traded with them. It often happened, that whole

ships' companies were cut off and murdered by the inhabitants. To be sure he admitted, that in many of these cases, such acts of cruelty were consequences of aggressive acts on the part of their visitors. But from whatever cause those melancholy events proceeded, every person in India well knew, that with all the care that could be observed in keeping up a pacific communication with the inhabitants;—with all the pains actually taken in educating persons in India for the trade, he meant in learning the languages of those people, and acquiring a knowledge of their habits and manners:—still, in every point of view, it was a most difficult and perilous trade. Surely, then, he could not hazard too much, when he said, that the difficulties would be in a ten-fold degree greater, to persons going out from England unacquainted with the navigation of the seas, and utterly ignorant of the manners and language of the inhabitants of those islands.—If this liberty was given to such persons, he had not the least doubt we should hear of the fatal consequences he had pointed out. But although he had no reason to think that the noble Lord proposed to give that liberty, yet he was sure it was an act of justice to those who were about to embark their lives and their properties in so hazardous and, he must say, dangerous a navigation, in every part of

it, to put them on their guard against the delusion of their own fancy. He did hope they would seriously reflect before they entered upon an undertaking which must be productive of ruin to themselves and their families. Whoever knew any thing of the navigation of those seas;—whoever knew the coasts of Sumatra, Java, Batavia, and the other islands to which the Company had traded, knew it to be impossible that large ships could navigate in those seas, without imminent risk of destruction. Long experience had taught the persons carrying on that trade, that it was impossible for ships of three hundred and fifty tons burthen, which were generally rated at four hundred tons cargo, to be navigated in those seas. It was impossible then, even supposing the other difficulties to be without foundation, for ships from England to carry on the trade with the same advantage and security which enabled the Company's ships to be tolerably successful; and they would have no chance whatever in competition with the Company's vessels, which had been long acquainted, not only with the navigation of those seas, but with the language, manners, and mode of commerce of the inhabitants. These, however, were merely suggestions of his own, and the result of his own observation. But he did really hope, notwithstanding the ap-

prehensions and suspicions of those interested in the welfare of the Company, that His Majesty's Ministers would be inclined to limit it, as well for the interests of the public, as in point of justice to the Company.

He should be very anxious to do justice to the arguments of his honorable and learned friend, Mr. Jackson, upon the subject of the China trade, if he could view it in the same light as his learned friend did. He could not agree with that honorable gentleman, that the idea of protecting the China trade, if the Outports were open, was merely visionary. He was not able to call that *visionary* or *ideal*, which experience had shewn to be founded in fact; because no man, he believed, would deny, that the means hitherto provided by the Company and the Government to protect its China trade, had been ample and sufficient for that purpose. It was his opinion, that there was no danger whatever to be apprehended upon this score; and his reasons for entertaining that sentiment were, that whatever the opinions might be which were held forth by people who did not consider the nature of the Manifest Acts—the danger and risk of confiscation, which ships, attempting to violate those acts, must run; and, even admitting the facility of smuggling, stated by the honorable

gentleman, still it would be impossible to escape detection; and though it were probable, still it would not be worth the while of such persons to undertake it. He was persuaded, that no man in this country would be so speculative, as to bring home a ship of four hundred tons burthen, and loaded with property to a considerable amount, yet consent to run the risk of losing the whole of his property for the chance of smuggling one or two chests of tea. Every person knew the extreme rigour with which the Custom-house officers did their duty; and even if *one* or *two* chests escaped their search, it would be still very difficult to land them: and, upon the whole, the dangers and risks would be too great to make it worth the while of any person to endeavour to carry on a trade attended with so many hazards. But, besides the vigilance of the Custom-house officers, to whom no one would attribute any remissness in their duty, could it be supposed that the Company themselves would not adopt every means, in their power, to secure one of their most valuable privileges? Therefore, with that degree of risk in deviating from the law, and with the vigilance not only of the Custom-house officers, but of the Company themselves, he thought there was little or no danger whatever upon that subject.

If therefore the Company had the command of the whole country left to them,—if they had the whole military force in their hands—and if the China trade was secure to them, which, in a commercial point of view, was the most important privilege of the Company, he saw no danger whatever from conceding to the Outports what was proposed by His Majesty's Ministers; because, with all these means within their grasp, there was no doubt whatever of their protecting all their most valuable acquisitions. For his own part, he was very much at a loss to discover from whence the danger was to arise to the East-India establishments from opening the trade of their ports, with all these advantages in the Company's hands; especially when they had every thing they could wish for, with one exception, which was, in fact, the most inconsiderable of all the objects at stake. The argument of those gentlemen was, that by suffering the trade to be carried on from the Outports to India, such would be the disposition of the persons trading, that they would in time overturn the Company's establishments. Now, that was utterly impossible, when the nature of the boon intended to be granted to the Outports was considered. He could conceive some force in the argument, if, instead of having a trade going from England to India, it

was intended to give a trade to the Outports from India to England. But as that was not the case, no danger of that kind could be apprehended: he could not imagine any, from giving to eight, ten, or fifteen ports, the benefit of an importation trade from India. The only hazard that could arise would be from their becoming incorporated with the establishments of India; but even then, judging from the administration of affairs in India, no apprehensions of that kind could be entertained. But still, as to the effect of giving the Outports this permission, he doubted whether that effect could be extensive: for, in many points of view, it was merely a permission; and in many cases it could not be enjoyed, even by those to whom it was extended: for, in truth, it would not be attended with so many real advantages as the sanguine imaginations of some men ascribed to it; and he apprehended that many of those who seemed so anxious to be possessed of the privilege, would find afterwards that their golden prospects were imaginary. If, therefore, the Company were only called upon to concede and grant to them, a participation in the trade, which was admitted to be unimportant, not only by many of the East-India Proprietors, but even by some of the Honourable Directors themselves, who stated in their evidence that

they were not afraid of an open trade, and that they were contented to grant to the Outports a participation in those commercial advantages:—If, therefore, this was admitted, there could be no difficulty whatever in adjusting so important a point:—beside which, there was this fact admitted even by the Company, that they could *then* afford to trade at 15 per cent. lower than they had hitherto been able to do. If this was the fact, which he would not deny, as it was admitted on their own shewing, he was at a loss to conceive what difficulty there could be in conceding to the merchants of the Outports a small portion of the import trade. For his own part, he thought, so far should the Court be from shewing any disposition of unwillingness to treat with the Government upon this point, they ought to come forward and shew every possible disposition to meet his Majesty's Ministers, and say to them—"We have done all in our power to meet your views:—we have left no argument untried; we have stated every thing that occurs to us upon the subject of our own interests, and the danger of an innovation on our privileges; but if you think it is of advantage to the country that we should admit the Outports to a participation in our import trade—*we*, who are equally anxious for the welfare of our country—consent to give

up such portion of our privileges as *you* may think conducive to that advantage. If you are of opinion that it is safe and proper, under the reservations you have left us, to give to the British merchants a participation in the trade to India, *we*, as creditors, grateful for the advantages already bestowed upon us, give our consent to such a participation."

It was his opinion that the Court of Directors, as a trading body, ought to look to those sources from which they were likely to derive the most advantage, in a pecuniary point of view. It appeared by their own shewing, that the Indian trade had been carried on, not only at a very heavy expence, but under very severe losses: while, on the contrary, it was stated, that by pursuing their China trade, in that advantageous manner which it had been hitherto conducted, their finances would be in a much more flourishing state, and be every way more conducive to the general prosperity of the Company: and hence, by parting with that portion of their trade which, they found by experience, could not be carried on with advantage, they would, by the alteration, in a financial point of view, be gainers.

But the Company were not to look upon themselves merely as TRADERS; they were to consider themselves as SOVEREIGNS: and

he begged to call upon the attention of the Court, and to remind them of the true point of view in which this great question ought to be considered. This was not a mere commercial consideration. The Directors were to look upon themselves in a more important light, namely, as SOVEREIGNS OF INDIA. They were to look to all those engagements and relations by which a great Empire would necessarily be affected: and therefore, when he saw no attempt on the part of His Majesty's Ministers to touch the political privileges of the Company; and, on the contrary, that there was a disposition, on their parts, to continue them, under proper regulations, it was their bounden duty to meet the wishes of Government. The nature of those regulations was known, and had been proposed If they were not satisfactory, it was the duty of the Court of Directors to propose some measures more propitious to their own views If they did this, such was the spirit of conciliation His Majesty's Ministers had evinced upon this subject, he was satisfied they would meet the Directors more than half way. If those Ministers appeared ready to give every facility to a liberal and satisfactory settlement of the Company's rights, ought the Company, he would ask, as SOVEREIGNS,

to object, on their parts, to dispense with a portion of their trade to India? Moreover, when they well knew that such trade was a losing concern, was there any reason, he would ask, for resisting on their parts, a participation of it? — Every consideration, he thought, should induce them to embrace the terms proposed, and to avoid resisting any disposition to conciliation on the part of the Government. As Sovereigns of a great Empire, and with a view to meet their vast and increasing expences, they ought, in a financial point of view, to shew the utmost readiness in accommodating themselves to the suggestions of the Minister. To prove that he was right in his proposition upon the subject of finance, he would only desire that the Directors should make out their accounts; and upon their own shewing, he contended, it would go against them. Upon this he built his proposition; because he was satisfied, that if the documents and accounts of the Company were laid before any merchant's clerk in London, who could keep a set of books, he would shew, in a commercial point of view, (allowing for those expences incurred in carrying on the commerce,) that the trade of India was not a gaining trade. Farther than this he could not go to sustain the proposition for which he contended. If it could be proved, that it was

not a gaining trade, surely the proposal now made by His Majesty's Ministers must tend not to diminish, but to add considerably to the revenue of the East India Company; and this, too, without that risque and liability to loss, to which the Company was at present exposed. As SOVEREIGNS of India, anxious for their own interests, and judging, as every Sovereign on earth would, and as he himself felt, if, as a part-proprietor of East India stock, he might call himself a Sovereign *(a laugh)*, they ought to adopt a step, so important to their own interests.

[Here the *Chairman* interposed, and asked, if he might be permitted to prefer a petition? —*(Hear! hear! hear!)*—He said, he was obliged to leave the Court upon particular business, not his own. His worthy colleague, however (Mr. Thornton), he was sure would take the Chair for him, and would discharge the duty much better than he did.—*(Hear! hear! hear!)* —The *Chairman* then retired, when the *Deputy Chairman* took the chair.]

Mr. *Hume* then resumed. To be short, he said, he merely wished to urge, that the Company, in its present situation, ought to judge of the actual danger of not conceding what was now proposed:—that they should consider them-

selves as SOVEREIGNS OF INDIA: that they ought to abstract themselves a little from that narrow commercial policy, which a private merchant might be disposed to adopt for his own individual advantage, and boldly give up every thing which was of importance to general welfare. What, he asked, were the narrow and selfish interests of a few individuals compared to the general welfare of the whole Country? He therefore besought the Court to consider themselves, as SOVEREIGNS, called upon to part with a portion of trade, not advantageous to themselves, in order to attend to the more important interests they had at stake; and "let the Court," said he, "satisfy itself of this fact, by looking to the calculations of the Company's trade during the last ten years, from the result of which they would find that the Indian trade had annually decreased." Whether this arose from the suspension of the intercourse between Great Britain and the other countries of Europe, or from the extraordinary commercial policy adopted by our neighbours, he would not enquire; but the fact was so. They ought, therefore, with pleasure, to come forward, and say to the Minister, "If such measures will tend to increase the trade and prosperity of the Country, we are extremely happy to meet them,

trusting that Government will not dispossess us of any thing which is essentially necessary to our security and welfare.

It was proposed, that His Majesty's Ministers should have power, with the consent of the Directors, to make such regulations by Orders in Council, as might be necessary to the conduct of the trade, and as circumstances might require. In that point of view, the facilities proposed by Government would necessarily advance the interests of the trade, without ttouble or inconvenience to the Company. He now begged to call the attention of the honourable Directors to what it was the Company proposed to do. It was proposed to call evidence to the bar of the House, to prove that the trade could not be materially increased. Now, if it should be proved that it would not be materially increased, could that, he would ask, effect any thing for the Company? If the trade should continue as it now was, had not the Public, by their claims, a right to participation in that trade, when the charter ceased, which it would do next year? And if the trade was to continue longer, why should the Public be deprived of the chance of benefiting by that, which was, in the hands of the Company, a losing concern? The chance, surely, if given to them, would in no way injure the Company; for

it appeared that they had lost by it while in their possession. The honourable gentleman (Mr. Jackson) though he argued upon the probable danger to the India establishments, from admitting the Outports to a participation in the trade, had not thought proper to illustrate his argument by any fact which could prove the reality of the danger. He contented himself with asserting, that such danger *would* arise, and *this*, too, *all at once*, upon the admission of the Outports to a share of the Company's privileges. The fallacy of that argument would be shewn by considering what really was the privilege proposed The danger supposed to arise from this concession would be from the inhabitants of the Outports settling in India, and overturning the Government. But was it really to be supposed, that the towns of Liverpool, Bristol, and Glasgow, were to export their inhabitants to India? Were they to send out their population to settle in the Company's possesions? Surely this was too preposterous even to imagine. All that was proposed to be given to the Outports was, the privilege of sending out cargoes from those ports, and bringing home cargoes of Indian produce in return. All parties admitted, that the only danger which could arise, was from those who went out to India. Were the Court then to apprehend danger from the ships' crews that

would be sent out from Glasgow or Liverpool? Surely not. And he should deny, upon every consideration, that danger would ever be found to exist. But the honourable Proprietor meant to prove, that this danger *would* exist. Of this, however, he (Mr. Hume) was certain, that the honourable gentleman could not prove that danger *ever did* exist; for he himself, and every other person acquainted with India, knew the contrary. No one ever heard of any danger existing from the intercourse of other nations with the ports of India. No one ever heard of, or even apprehended any danger, when twenty-seven or thirty ships were in the port of Calcutta. It was known that the greater proportion of the trade to India was carried on by Europeans, and yet no danger was ever apprehended to the East-India establishments. Therefore, upon this *prima facie* view of the case, he would venture to say, that no danger whatever would take place.

Returning again to the subject of the East India Islands, the trade to which was another portion of the East India commerce, he would remind the Court of the attempts made by the Americans to secure a portion of that commerce. This he desired to do, in order to shew how chimerical the notions of the British merchants

were upon this subject. The Americans had sent several of their vessels and attempted to trade with those islands:—but after various attempts to succeed in their wishes, they were obliged to give up the project in despair; and now they were content to take what they wanted from the *Malay* traders, who brought all the articles of commerce in that trade to a particular station. This was what the Americans were content and obliged to do, and this was what the British merchants must do; for it was preposterous to suppose, that merchants, embarking their capital in such a trade, could hope to succeed without learning the language of the natives, and acquiring some knowledge of their manners. Even if they surmounted the difficulties of a dangerous and tempestuous sea, still they would have more discouraging circumstances to combat; namely, a barbarous and untractable people. He was aware that a spirit of enterprise was necessary to the attainment of great objects, and it was a spirit which ought always to be encouraged; but, at the same time, Speculation was a rock surrounded by so many dangers, that the unwary traveller should be cautioned against the tremendous consequences that would follow a false step. The danger of unwise speculation, he therefore hoped, the British merchant

would be guarded against, and follow the advice, and take warning by the example of those who had gone before them. For even, after the most cautious and careful conduct, such was the disposition of the natives, that unless they should be so changed, for the better, from what they had hitherto been, it would be impossible to keep up any intercourse with them.—Looking, therefore, at the subject in that point of view, the Company should say to the British merchants, "Do nothing that you cannot satisfy "yourselves will be of advantage to you. We, "who know the danger, point out to you the "difficulties which you will have to encounter; "but if you have any doubt upon our statement, "examine evidence."

On the other hand, however, he (Mr. Hume) thought there was no occasion to examine evidence, for the purpose of shewing that any danger had taken place by allowing ships to enter the ports of India. They might examine evidence for fifty days and prove no more than what they already knew; namely, that no danger whatever had existed. A single witness could not be brought to shew that it ever did exist, or was ever even apprehended. What was the danger that could be apprehended, if proper regulations were adopted by the Company, with

all the means, and all the strength in their hands, to carry those regulations into execution? In fact, the result of experience gave proof positive against all the evidence that could be adduced to sustain the notion of danger. He therefore put it to the serious consideration of the Court, whether they ought not, as a body of men deeply interested in the welfare of India, to make every advance in their power, in order to cherish that spirit of conciliation manifested by the Minister.

He maintained that no danger could exist, because hitherto, when the Company's means of defence and protection were not so great as they are now, no danger had taken place. Therefore, it did not appear to him, that all the evidence, which could be brought forward, would be futile: and he pledged his own conviction, that if the whole *was* proved, that *could* be proved, no dang·r whatever would be made out. He was extremely anxious, therefore, that this Court should be impressed with the same idea: an idea which he entertained from the very first; and if he appeared desirous of endeavouring to convince the Court, and bring it to the same way of thinking, it was because he was sincerely anxious for the welfare of the Company; and the only object he now had in view was, earnestly to recommend this Court to meet His Majesty's Ministers, who had so liberally

declared their disposition to meet the two contending parties.—In all points, in which this branch of the question could be considered, every man acquainted with the affairs of the Company, must be convinced of the policy, as well as the expediency, of embracing the proposition of Ministers. It had been proved, to the satisfaction of the Court, that there was no prospect nor probability of increasing that branch of trade, under the present system. They had had the evidence of the most enlightened men upon the subject; some of whom gave it as their decided opinion, that in a commercial point of view the opening of the trade would be of advantage to the Company—that the private merchant could carry it on with greater advantage; so that, in a commercial light, the Company would be gainers by the change. It was natural that a private merchant, carrying on trade by himself, unshackled by any other object than the immediate one in view, namely, his commercial adventure, would be more likely to benefit by the trade, than a numerous Company engaged in vast and multifarious concerns, not only of a commercial, but of a political nature, and whose attention must naturally be divided, between political security on the one hand, and commercial advantage on the other. But, leaving these general

principles out of the question, was it not a matter of serious importance to the Company to reflect, that, for the last eighteen years, during which time the Company's public and private trade amounted to about seventeen millions, they had sustained a loss upon their capital of 10 *per cent.* annually? Therefore, this subject became a matter of very serious consideration, as a question of general policy: and, in that point of view, he did hope the Court would see the wisdom of that proposition of the noble Lord, calculated as it was to increase the commerce of India, without diminishing any advantage the Company had hitherto derived from their exclusive privileges, and in no way tending to injure the essential interests of the Company.

With that view he should, before he sat down, take the liberty of moving one or two resolutions, declaratory of the wish of the Court to subscribe to this proposition of the noble Lord, and to pledge itself as willing to meet His Majesty's Ministers in the most liberal and unrestrained manner. These were resolutions which, he hoped, every person would support, because, by the resolutions of the noble Lord, the Court was bound to nothing. The very submission of them to the consideration of the House, implied that they were resolutions open to amendment, and the

most ample discussion. Indeed, he would go the length of saying, that after all they might not be, perhaps, the resolutions which they would have ultimately to consider. A change of administration might put an end to the propositions in their present form. It was impossible to say how soon that change might take place: but it was a thing which was not unlikely. The Court were not, therefore, bound by them:—they were only to be considered as the mere opinions of the present Ministry; but who, he must do them the justice to say, had on this occasion acted with the greatest liberality, and whom the Court ought to meet with the same liberal opinions on their part. It was for their own advantage that they should come forward, and embrace the measure proposed: and if what was proposed did not satisfy the public, it was for the interest of the Company that they should themselves do every thing in their power to strengthen the hands of Ministers, and enable them to carry into effect their liberal propositions. There was only one question upon the whole proposition, as it now stood; and that was, whether the Company would admit the people of England to a share with them in their trade, unshackled and unmolested? and whether they would chuse to add to the prosperity of their own country, by increas-

ing the prosperity of India? He was persuaded it was the wish of the Court of Directors to benefit, in every way, the trade of India, and add stability and strength to its government. He trusted, therefore, that they would consider this proposition in that view. For his own part, as a person connected with the country, he laid claim to credit for not wishing to approve any arrangements, which could have a tendency to retrench the commerce of that country. Such being the case, he hoped it would not be considered that he was urging too much, in recommending the Court to adopt the resolution he suggested: or that he was desirous of misleading them. But, previously to his submitting those resolutions, he would take the liberty of noticing one or two objections which the honorable gentleman (Mr. Jackson) had made. The learned gentleman had first very properly noticed, that it would be adviseable for the Court to adopt the middle course; now, whether there had been any invitation on the part of the Court, in the course of their numerous discussions upon this subject, he would not take upon himself to enquire — This, however, was certain, that the noble Lord, upon this subject, had said nothing which could excite the least irritation: and therefore it was the

more imperative—indeed it was the duty of the Court—to do every thing in its power to conciliate the good opinion of the Minister; and to come forward in the most temperate and considerate manner to discuss the subject. It was true, in some of their discussions there was a little warmth; but he was persuaded that it proceeded from the momentary effusions of the mind, upon a question certainly of the greatest importance. His anxiety, however, to deprecate every thing like irritation, was excusable, when he knew the disagreeable consequences to which it might give rise.

He had already stated his opinion at length, upon the subject of the China trade, which the honorable gentleman had, also, very extensively discussed; and he was free to admit, that some of the dangers which he (Mr. Jackson), had pointed out, in other views of the subject, might exist; but, in general, he thought the dangers were of so trifling a nature, that they were amply counterbalanced by the advantages likely to result to the Company.—Of this, however, he was satisfied, that if His Majesty's Ministers thought proper to recommend the opening of a portion of the trade to India, the China trade would, in all events, remain as complete as it was now. He must say, in answer to what

the honorable gentleman had observed, upon the subject of the petition of a very numerous and important body of people, namely the ship-builders, it was reasonable to suppose, that the more ships there were built, the more commerce would be likely to ensue: though he confessed he did think it would be attended with more danger, in a political point of view. It was *possible* that some of the dangers might take place, from the increase of the shipping interest, which had taken place in America.

The honorable gentleman, he thought, had taken rather an unfair advantage of the statement he (Mr. Hume) had made in the course of a former debate, upon the subject of the trade to China. It would be recollected, he trusted, that in bringing forward that statement of the trade to China, he had shewn, on an average of fifty years, it had increased from £629,000 to £1,300,000. Though he had said that the Company ought not to hesitate in confessing that the trade to India was disadvantageous, yet it should be recollected that he brought forward this statement to shew, that since the period of the year 1793, the trade of China had increased in a great degree, notwithstanding all the difficulties thrown in its way. The Court would do him the justice, he was sure, to remember that he had

mentioned, in the most distinct manner, what had been done to injure the trade, and that he had added the opinions of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundass, who had stated that, in their judgment, every thing had been done to injure the trade to China: yet if it appeared, on an average of fifty years, that the trade had increased from £629,000 to £1,300,000 it was an unequivocal proof that the trade had answered. There was no doubt but every means had been adopted to injure that trade: yet, notwithstanding all the difficulties and obstacles opposed to its success, they had been entirely surmounted. He relied upon actual facts and the experience of the Company, from whose documents it would appear beyond all doubt, that it had increased from £629,000. to £1,300,000; at this moment it was so; and on that principle, judging from the present, the trade to China was increasing. He would admit, it might be a strong plea on the part of the Outports, if the trade was really decreasing, that they ought to have the opportunity of improving a trade, which was either neglected for want of energy, or dwindling for want of capital: the contrary, however, was the fact. It was not a fair way of judging on the subject to calculate from *one* or *two* unsuccessful years. But, at the same time that the Company derived

considerable advantages from this branch of their trade, he did not think it would become them to enter into, a sort of conspiracy, and conceal from His Majesty's Ministers the real state of the facts upon this subject. And he put it to his honorable friend, whether that was not the point of view in which he stated his sentiments on the former occasion? He was not one of those, he confessed, who would abandon *small* but *certain* gains, for the chance of making more by a *speculation* confessedly *hazardous*. It was in this point of view that he considered this subject, and he thought it was perfectly consistent with the interests of the Company, to abandon a losing concern, for the sake of promoting their views, in the pursuit of a trade every way more advantageous. They ought to give up that proportion which was almost a burthen, to secure that which was profitable, in every point of view.

Something had been said by the honorable gentleman about the statements of Lord Castlereagh, on the subject of the Company's capital. He (Mr. Hume) had the pleasure of hearing Lord Castlereagh on that subject: and although he did not explain himself so clearly as many might have done, yet the meaning he collected from his Lordship's observations, was very different from that represented by his honorable

friend to the Court. Lord Castlereagh stated very distinctly, that "the impediments to trading on the part of the present merchants, to and from India, under the regulations of the Charter of 1793, had forced the capital of British merchants into foreign trade, either in consequence of increased difficulties thrown in the way of the Court of Directors, or in consequence of the Court of Director's means having declined." This was the point Lord Castlereagh, as far as he understood him, had suggested: and was there any body who recollected the observations of Mr. Dundas on this identical point, touching the subject of East-India ships, that did not agree in the truth of the observation? Examples were not wanting to illustrate that principle. One was sufficient for the purpose; and he would only refer the Court to the example of the *Princess Amelia*, a Company's ship, in 1797. Lord Castlereagh he contended was right, when he stated that a large capital had been employed to no beneficial purpose, through the very trammels of those regulations prescribed in the Charter.—He (Mr. Hume) was ready however to admit, that the Court of Directors had acted liberally; but still, with all that liberality, (for which he was disposed to give them credit) it was not sufficient to prove the capability of the Company.

His honorable friend (Mr. Jackson) had not noticed the effect likely to be produced upon India, by allowing people to come in and receive permission to enter into the trade of the Company. The honorable gentleman did not recollect what the advances of the Company had been: he did not seem to recollect that the whole advance of the Company had not been much more than one third. Did he mean therefore to say, that there would be any injury likely to arise to the trade of India, or the advantages of it to the Company, from this measure? Did he suppose that the Company's interests would be affected by the loss of one eighth of the present merchandize? In this last proposition, he derived his authority from the Court of Directors themselves. Surely every man must know, that the merchants of Britain were as well acquainted with the interests of Government as the East-India Company themselves. The merchants of Britain, therefore, ought not to be looked upon as men, differing in their sentiments and principles from the rest of His Majesty's subjects: they were not to be considered as a different people from those who were at present employed in the trade to India. Their notions of loyalty, of good conduct, and good government, were (without at all detracting from the merits of the

Company) as much alive to the interests of their Country; therefore, in admitting the merchants of the Outports to a share of the trade in India, the Company ought to consider them as a valuable accession to the number of their subjects—as a body of men willing to be united with them in influence, in interest, and mutual sentiment, for the welfare of the Empire; and so far from apprehending any mischief through such a coalition, he thought, that as long as the Court of Directors retained the power and sovereignty in India; as long as they administered justice with integrity and impartiality; as long as the mild spirit of government which had marked the affairs of India for so many years, should continue to actuate the conduct of the Directory, so long would they be an accession to the prosperity and welfare of India.

It was very well known, that the present merchants had done very much towards the prosperity of India. He would not enquire more into the particular channels and modes by which they contributed their assistance, but certainly the present merchants had done, more to the prosperity of India, than those, who had not an opportunity of knowing the fact, could possibly conceive. Their capital had kept the trade alive in India; so much so, that the trade was almost,

in fact, merely *pro forma*, carried on by the Court of Directors, and hence, instead of increasing, the trade had decreased. This he had shewn on a former occasion, by a reference to the average of the trade during the last eight years, from which it had appeared (without now going back to the items) that the Company had lost eight millions of money. The inference to be drawn from this was, that the loss had proceeded from a decrease of the enterprising spirit of the Company, and from a want of proper application and supply of the capital. Ought they not therefore, as Directors and as Sovereigns of a vast Empire, to say to the British merchants, "Let us join heart and hand together in this great undertaking;—let us contribute all in our power to the prosperity and welfare of India?"

This, he (Mr. Hume) was firmly convinced, would be the result of such a policy; and in every point of view, in which the affairs of India could be considered, he anticipated prosperity to the commerce, and strength, and stability of the British Empire.

He should not detain the Court at any length with regard to the amount of the importation from India. The amount imported was of very little consequence. It certainly would be more if the state of Europe would permit it; but, at the

the same time, it should be recollected, that of all the manufactured goods imported from India, only *one fifth* of the whole was imported for British consumption: all the rest of the four-fifths went out of the country. As for *foreign* exports, therefore, it was of very little consequence, whether they came to the port of London or to the Outports. He, for one, thought it quite as just, that the Outports should derive the advantage of the foreign export trade, as the import trade for home consumption; because the reason of the thing was just the same; and he considered it was an exception which ought by no means to exist.

With regard to *protection*, a good deal had been said by the honourable gentleman; but he (Mr. Hume) must say, that the noble Lord had stated, that he thought it would be neither advisable nor safe for the Legislature to attempt any alteration in the present system in India. On the contrary, he said, it was his opinion, that the Government of India was as perfect as could exist; and that to take it out of the hands of the Court of Directors, would be to unhinge the whole fabric. Upon this subject, thererore, he (Mr. Hume) would not make any comments, but merely subscribe to that opinion.

With regard to the duties, the honourable gen-

tleman had said a great deal; but it amounted to so little, that he should not trouble the Court with any observations upon it. The whole duties were stated by the noble Lord to amount to £4,200,000. The whole computation which was derivable from tea having been stated to be *three millions and a half*, then this amount of the duties on tea being contra-distinguished from other duties, perhaps, would explain the apparent inaccuracy of the noble Lord's statement. But so far as he (Mr. Hume) could judge, his Lordship was pretty correct.

Notwithstanding the observations made on the policy of India; notwithstanding an honourable Director had himself asserted, that the Government was not quite complete, he himself was happy to say, that, in his own opinion, as far as facts went, they bore against the honourable Director. He was, however, bound to state, that it would give him (Mr. Hume) the sincerest pleasure to see any improvement for the better.

But although experience had shewn that the power and means put into the hands of this great body of merchants had been used with moderation upon all occasions, and with the greatest propriety and advantage to the country, yet he did not think that should be urged as a reason why economy ought not to be adopted; nor ought it

to be urged as a reason why ecclesiastical power should to be adopted in India. On the contrary, it was, in his opinion, a reason why it ought not to be introduced. He was as anxious as any man could be to see the religious establishments of India, as such, properly supported, and that there should be no want of religious instructors; but, as far as he knew any thing of India, he was not aware of any want of that kind. Every man who looked to the state of India, or who was at all acquainted with its domestic policy, would find that there was no occasion for any increase of the religious establishments. On the contrary, the number of religious instructors was very great, and had been much augmented of late. The Company had many chaplains in their train; and he was convinced it would be found, that the number of clergymen was quite enough; in his opinion it would be perfectly useless to send out any increase to the ecclesiastical establishments of the Company. But it occurred to him as rather extraordinary, that the recommendation of his Lordship (Castlereagh) upon this subject should follow immediately after a recommendation of "retrenchment." For it would be observed, that the very words from his Lordship's lips were "*the necessity of retrenchment in the Company's establishments.*" Now, how was that followed

up? The very next proposition of his Lordship was, 'That the Company's system of expense was to be increased, and that they were to have a Bishop (whether with an income of ten thousand pounds a year, he did not know), and three Archdeacons! Surely, then, when the Court considered the enormous expence of keeping up the Government of the territories in India, and when it was considered that the expence was as much as the Company could bear, it could not be contended, in an economical point of view, that *this* was a season for adding so considerably to the expence, even if the *policy* of introducing such high dignitaries were unquestioned. And it might be necessary to consider also the expediency of introducing, in a political point of view, such personages into the Indian settlements. He was not perfectly satisfied, that an ecclesiastical power of that kind, if admitted to India, would be very advantageous to its good government; nor if it were attempted, was he perfectly satisfied it would contribute to the tranquillity of the Empire.—Though he was most perfectly convinced that such an augmentation of their establishment would be attended with an intolerable expence; this, however, was not his *chief* objection to their admission; for he had a sincere wish that a liberal provision should be made for the

teachers of the Gospel. But the main point of view in which he objected to it was, that it would be attended with the highest possible danger to the tranquillity of India; for he apprehended if a Bishop were admitted to have any authority in India, the Company would have a second Lord Chief Justice to take the lead in their affairs, and guide their councils.—It would be impossible to keep those ecclesiastical dignitaries from interfering with the politics of India; and consequently affecting the councils of the government. If the Clergy now in India were disposed to do their duty, there were quite enough of them for all spiritual and religious purposes. He, therefore, would by no means recommend a measure of this kind; and he perfectly agreed in an observation, urged against it in the House of Commons, that if there were any one measure more dangerous and threatening to the government of India than another, it was that of allowing a hierarchy without controul. For his own part, he dreaded also the suspension of that liberal and mild spirit of toleration which characterized the present government towards every sect of religion; and therefore, in that point of view, he should shudder at the idea of introducing a religious establishment which might, in any degree, tend to introduce a schism into that country, in

matters of conscience. The Court of Directors, in his opinion, were bound to sanction nothing which might, in the slightest degree, tend to disturb the harmony of the government or risk the quiet of their empire. As a question, therefore, of religion, of politics, and of economy, it was every way objectionable. His honourable friend, (Mr. Jackson) had argued with considerable force, to shew that the government of India was a government of opinion. He, however, could not consent to the proposition, that our territories in India were governed by opinion *alone*. He thought that 150,000 men added considerably to the strength of that opinion, and gave some weight to the orders of the government. The fact was, the Company had a very large physical force in India, and it was not *mere opinion* that governed their immense territories. But, judging of the great force of the Hindoos in India, he thought it highly necessary to consider seriously the policy of attempting to convert the natives to Christianity: and this was another point of view in which he objected to any unnecessary increase of the religious establishments in India. His reason was this;— it was contrary to the Hindoo laws to admit a convert from their religion into society. Such person was excluded from either intercourse or

commerce with his friends and countrymen. He lost his *cast*, and was, in fact, considered as a vagabond and an outlaw; he was deprived of all those comforts which constituted the happiness of social life: he was even thrown off from the society of his father, his mother, and of his friends. Surely, then, if the chief object of religious instruction was the social happiness of mankind, it would be well to consider the policy of attempting to convert a people, who visited apostates from their own religion with such serious and heavy penalties. Could it be supposed (however desirable it might be, to see Christianity spread amongst the millions of unenlightened inhabitants of the eastern world), that such policy would either tend to the happiness of the people, or the security of the British empire, in India? Did facts prove, that the condition of the people hitherto converted had been bettered—or that their attachment to the Company's government had been made more secure? For his own part, he declared, for one, he never knew a convert in India who was a friend to the State: and, on the other hand, he never knew a convert, who was received by those who had converted him, with the warmth and cordiality of a brother. He therefore hoped the Court would seriously consider the very important question now suggested.

It was a question that involved not only the happiness of the people themselves, but the security of the government in India. He besought them to recollect the melancholy consequences that befel those unfortunate persons who left their *cast*: and he desired them to recollect, above all things, the necessity of keeping up that good opinion and confidence which subsisted between the natives and the government.— (*Hear! hear! hear!*)

There was another topic in the honourable gentleman's speech to which he must take the liberty of adverting: he meant that which respected *remuneration*. Now, really, he did conceive, that after the most liberal offer had been made by Government, to give the Company their China trade (worth £1,200,000), that they would have been contented, without the permission of levying duties, to remunerate them for those alleged advantages which were to be given up; and he begged to call the attention of the Court of Directors to one point of the measure proposed. It was a circumstance impossible for any Englishman to believe, that he should be obliged to pay more duty at Hull than at Liverpool, or at Glasgow than at Bristol. No man would know the duties if they were continually changing, which they would inevitably

do, under the arrangement proposed by the honourable gentleman; and it would be impossible to carry on the trade, with satisfaction or advantage, without knowing what the duties were, that were to be charged in each port respectively. Therefore, if such a proposition were to be seriously made, it ought not to be adopted without the perfect sanction of all parties: and he himself would be happy to see any necessary and reasonable rate established; but it ought to be a general, clear, and known rule of conduct to all parties.—The honourable gentleman asked,—"Was the Company to part with their "wharfs, their forts, and their establishments "in the ports of India, without remunera- "tion?"—Good God!—Was not the China trade —worth £1,200,000 a-year—an ample remuneration for what the Company gave up? Surely it was; because, by the tenor of the Company's charter they would have been obliged to give up the whole trade to India, to all His Majesty's subjects in common. As soon as their charter expired they would have no more right to the trade of India than the rest of His Majesty's subjects. He thought all that the merchants of the Outports ought to pay, therefore, would be a rate for the maintenance of the harbours and quays of the ports. This was fair, reason-

able, and natural. His answer, therefore, to the honourable gentleman's opinion upon this subject was, that the remuneration should go no farther than that proposed by the Government. Would it be just, or would it be reasonable, to tell the merchants of Liverpool and other Outports:—"In "return for the expences *we* have been at, in "adapting our settlements for the purposes of "trade, *you* must reimburse us?" Why, the very nature of all those conveniencies was to enable the Company to carry on their trade. He would read the very words of the act:—"To enable "the Honourable the East India Company to "carry on their trade in execution of their "charter, these things are granted to them, that "they might be applied for their own con-"venience: but, at the termination of their ex-"clusive privileges, these things shall be in "common, as *forts for protection*, &c."—The honourable gentleman asked,—"What was the "Company to have by way of remuneration for "their forts?"—What, he (Mr. Hume) asked, had the private traders to do with the forts? The forts were to protect the country—to protect the territories of the Company.—Therefore, to call upon the traders to pay for these forts, would be most unjust and unreasonable. What! was the Company to be paid a revenue for the pro-

fection of its own ports and territories? and were they to call upon the merchants for this revenue? Besides which, he considered, at the present day, those forts, erected by the Company, were not necessary for the security of the merchants. They might, indeed, be necessary as safeguards for the Company's territories against hostile invaders, and might be the means of protecting their territorial possessions. He therefore hoped, in *that* sense, it would be thought, by the Court, that the Liverpool merchants, and the merchants of the other Outports, had no right to pay any demand of this sort; for, in every point of view, he considered it would be very unreasonable.

It appeared to him, that his honourable friend had misconceived the noble Lord (Castlereagh), when he stated that there was a kind of influence which the Court of Proprietors had over the Court of Directors. He (Mr. Hume) desired it to be recollected, that the noble Lord did not state this influence as extended to the territories in India, or that any danger was to be apprehended from its effects in *that* quarter; but what the noble Lord said was to this effect—and however unpleasant it might be for some gentlemen to hear, he would repeat it—the noble Lord had stated, that such an influence af-

fected the conduct of the Court of Directors themselves—that, in many of their proceedings, the Court of Directors were over-awed by the East-India Proprietors—that they, the Proprietors, were anxious to keep up the present system in some shape or another—and that he was afraid the trade of the India Company was good for nothing. This, he stated, was the *effect* of what the noble Lord had said; and he begged the honourable gentleman (Mr. Jackson) would recollect, that it was with a view to the trading influence, and not in allusion to the Company's territories, that the noble Lord's observation was made. It was only meant by the noble Lord, that this alleged influence led to a want of management in the Company's commerce, and that the natural consequence of that was its injury and declension It was not, however, to be therefore supposed, it was at all meant by the noble Lord, that the Proprietors were to be precluded from deriving all the advantage they could from continuing the trade to India. On the contrary, he (Mr. Hume) had no doubt that they would continue the carrying trade; but, at the same time, the system required some alteration. And he had no doubt that a great many improvements would take place; for he could not but admit, that there were a great

many wanting. Therefore, the noble Lord, in making the observation alluded to, merely meant to allude to that sort of influence he had described. But the noble Lord was not the only one who took an opportunity of submitting *that* as one of the reasons why he thought the present system ought not to continue against the conviction of some of the Proprietors. He remembered that an honourable Director, not now present, who saw the danger, and who stirred heaven and earth to change the shipping interest, declared that he regretted the interference of that interest, though, at the same time, he admitted his disposition to give it all the advantage he could; yet still his sentiments were strongly against it, on account of its dangerous tendency. Surely, therefore, it was no harm for the noble Lord to take a leaf out of that honourable Director's book.

Without detaining the Court any longer, and after apologizing for the great length of time he had trespassed on their attention, he begged to remind them, that the sole object of his rising was strongly to recommend a feeling of conciliation on the part of the Company, and to beg that, after the most liberal, and, he must say, unexampled advances of His Majesty's Ministers, they would come forward themselves with a similar

feeling of liberality, and appear ready to evince a sincere spirit of conciliation. They ought to join hand in hand with Ministers to meet the contending force; for they should to bear in mind that they had to oppose the whole public, as it was natural to suppose that the nation at large was against them. As a Company, they ought to stand forth and conciliate the good opinion of Ministers—they ought to come forward and meet them half-way—indeed, he might say, two-thirds of the way. It was their duty to make the first advances, and it was for the Ministers to meet them.

Upon this very trying occasion, he certainly would do the Court of Directors the justice to say, that they had done *their* duty. He believed they had conscientiously and with unfeigned sincerity, pointed out those rocks upon which the merchants of the Outports were most likely to split, and erected those beacons to warn them of the danger, when an inconsiderate view of their own interests might lead them to risk dangers which might lead to their own destruction. He deprecated, above all the rest, every thing like hostility on the part of the Company. To go hostily into the field might be detrimental to their own interests, and perhaps be the occasion of imposing harder terms than those which a more

pacific aspect might induce Government to grant. The less they came to blows, the better for themselves, because he was persuaded they would effect infinitely more by mildness and good humour. They had nothing to do but to consider a public point in a private light. For his own part he would recommend, that their Chairman should ask leave to visit His Majesty's Ministers, and to state that the Court were extremely anxious to meet their views, and accommodate themselves to their wishes. A yielding disposition must be obviously more beneficial to their interests, than even the power (if power they had) to command :—command indeed could elicit nothing. They might detain the House of Commons for a week, examining evidence and debating the question, without half the advantage that an hour's private interview with His Majesty's Ministers might effect. In such a meeting many points might be granted, which could not be hoped for in a more open manner; and by meeting the Ministers half way, they would put it out of their power to refuse any thing that was consistent with the mutual interests of the Public and the Company.

[After some further observations to the same effect, in which the honorable gentleman recommended the renewal of the negotiation on the

part of the Company with the Ministers, in that spirit of conciliation he had suggested, he concluded by moving a resolution to that effect.]

The *Deputy Chairman* (Mr. Thornton) begged leave to put the honorable gentleman in mind, that there was already a question before them, which, though not absolutely moved, remained to be put, for the sense of the Court. It was a motion of the honorable Chairman, who had been called away by public business. The honourable Chairman had signified an intention, before he left the Court, to submit his proposition, but was diverted from his intention in its regular course, in consequence of an honorable and learned proprietor (Mr. Jackson) having immediately followed him, with his address to the Court. However, if the honorable Proprietor who spoke last, wished to propose his motion as an amendment, it was certainly in his power to do so: but it would be for his discretion to consider whether, under the circumstance of the case, he would adopt such a measure. He (the Deputy Chairman) indeed conceived, that the honorable gentleman, whom he represented, was in possession of the Court, and he should, therefore, take the liberty of reading the motion which he had left on the table, and which it was his intention to have proposed.

Mr. *Hume* thanked the Deputy Chairman for his suggestion, and requested that the motion before the Court might be read.

The *Deputy Chairman* said the motion was this:—

"That the Court of Directors be empowered "to affix the seal of the Company to Petitions to "the Right Honorable the House of Lords and "the Honorable the House of Commons, to be "heard by Counsel, and to examine evidence at "the bars of the Houses of Lords and Commons, should such measures be deemed necessary or advisable by the Court of Directors."

Mr. *Hume* apprehended there would not be any difference of opinion on this point; and as soon as it was disposed of he should beg to submit his own, as a second motion.

Mr. *Rock* requested, that the motion read from the Chair should not be now put, that he might be allowed to say one word before he gave his assent to it. He wished to be informed whether the opposition intended to be made by the Directors at the bar of the House of Commons, was intended to go to the whole of the resolutions, or whether that opposition was to be confined to *certain* resolutions? because there were unquestionably some out of the fifteen which he approved of, and there were others which required

very serious consideration: and amongst the latter was that relative to Religion. Before he could give his opinion therefore upon that subject, he should wish to know whether the opposition was intended to be confined to the third resolution *only*, or to the resolutions generally?

Mr. *Randle Jackson* apprehended that the honorable gentleman had mistaken the course of the proceedings. The question before the Court was merely to ask permission for the Directors to put the Company's seal to a petition to the honorable the House of Commons praying to be heard by their counsel, or to lay such evidence before the House as should be required, for the purpose of explaining such propositions and difficulties, and such resolutions as might arise in the course of the business. He therefore suggested the impropriety of their expressing any formal opinion upon resolutions which were only submitted to the House of Commons by Lord Castlereagh for the mere purpose of *consideration*; and not with a view of precluding the House, or the Company from suggesting such alterations and improvements as circumstances might require. As the motion before them did not intimate that it was the intention of the Court to oppose those resolutions, but merely to request permission to be

heard by counsel and examine evidence, he would suggest, that the honorable gentleman's question could not arise out of any thing contained in that motion.

Mr. *Rock* begged leave to explain. He was called upon, he said, to give his assent to a motion empowering the Court of Directors to put their seal to a petition that would pass, for ought he knew, into a resolution. There were certain resolutions amongst those proposed by the noble Lord to the House of Commons which he very much approved of. He did not say that he approved of the last relative to religion, which he admitted was one of the greatest importance. But he hoped that the Court of Directors would not oppose every one of those resolutions.

The Rev. Mr. *Thirlwall* rose and attempted to speak; but

Mr. *Lowndes* rose at the same time and obtained possession of the Court. He congratulated himself that he was at length honoured with their attention; as he must own he had yielded the point of precedence to the honorable gentleman (Mr. Hume) with reluctance, for though he was not convinced by his arguments, he should not have felt anxious to speak before him, if he had not feared an attempt to speak after a man of his abilities and eloquence might be considered as pre-

sumptuous. Having heard such able speeches from the *Cicero* and *Demosthenes* of this Court, *(a laugh)* he certainly could not flatter himself that he should be able to offer any thing very worthy their attention. But at the same time, as it was impossible to embrace every thing even in such long-winded speeches (which he certainly admitted were much better worth hearing than the long-winded speeches of another House) he should take the liberty of touching upon one or two points which had escaped their notice. As he professed nothing at all of the *courtier*, and as he spoke his sentiments freely and without reserve upon all occasions, he should not to-day forbear stating with freedom, but with respect, the few words he had to utter. His worthy friend (Mr. Jackson) had commented at some length upon the observations of Lord Castlereagh touching the conduct of the honorable servants of that House. It appeared that Lord Castlereagh had observed with tolerable freedom; upon the conduct of those honorable servants; and certainly in his (Mr. Lowndes's) opinion, not without some reason: for he firmly believed that if the honorable servants of that house had looked a little better after the interests of the Company—if they had not allowed the Americans trading to India—the Court would not have heard so much

as they have heard, about the dangers of private trade. Therefore, if such dangers there were, they had to blame themselves for slumbering on their posts. To this negligence must be attributed all that had been said about the baneful effects of private trade. And when he heard of an immense trade carried on by the merchants of that country (America) in three hundred sail of shipping, brought into foreign markets, and coming in competition with the Indian goods imported by the honorable Company to the injury of those concerned in the private trade of this country, he could not forbear to throw all the blame upon the servants of that honorable House for allowing such an evil to exist. It was what might have been expected, and which could not but be anticipated. Now, he did think, with all due deference to those honorable persons, that they should not have suffered such a complaint to exist upon so important a question, but on that occasion they should have petitioned his Majesty's Ministers and the Houses of Lords and Commons, to point out some method to prevent the Americans from trading to India in the manner they had done. There was another point on which he thought the Directors were also very much to blame. Though he felt every disposition in the world to speak of them individually with

the greatest respect, and though they were very worthy and excellent men, as individuals, yet when thrown together, like a heap of vegetables, they were apt to corrupt each other. (*A laugh.*)

The second point that he objected to in their conduct was, that on this important occasion, they had improvidently consented or agreed to give £500,000 a year to Government, in order to keep £1,500,000 which they would have kept, *nolens volens*; and this without any sort of reference to the state of their circumstances, whether in adversity or prosperity. His worthy friend (Mr. Randle Jackson) seemed disposed to give £150,000. But what he (Mr. Lowndes) contended for was, that if the Directors gave but £5 or £500, it ought to bear some proportion to their profits. Surely the Company ought not to give the Government £500,000, per annum, if their concern was a losing one.

Now, upon this second point, he thought they were really very culpable, and did not demand as much as they ought: but he only mentioned this circumstance to shew the impolicy of not looking to their own interests. And therefore he had hoped they would not have made such a bad bargain as they did on this occasion. This however, was not an observation which had just occurred to him; it had frequently been

made before. But having said so much, he begged only to add, that he did not entertain any ill-will towards them; but, that being an independent man, he was desirous of speaking the sentiments of an independent mind. And if he again devoted himself to peaceful retirement, he should no less feel the same portion of anxiety than if he were present in that honorable Court. He was, however, anxious to speak this day in vindication of his own conduct, which had been attacked for having spent all the winter at Bath. Several of his friends had said to him—"what, Lowndes! have you " deserted your post at the India House, where " you used to make so much noise?—Why, you " have been silent for the last nine months!—What " is the reason of it?"—Now were his talents of a little more consequence than they were, perhaps his worthy friends might have thought he had been bought off: *(a laugh)* but though he was absent, he begged to say he was not ignorant of what was passing in that place, nor insensible to what had occurred elsewhere. He could only say to those worthy friends who were enquiring where he had been, that he had been an hundred miles from London, and had not an opportunity, from that circumstance, of attending the usual meetings. Happy was he to observe, that

a great many things of considerable importance to the welfare of India had happened while he was absent. The most pleasing was that of the appointment of a noble Lord to be Governor-General of India: for he did think that a man of more accomplished mind, a man of more conciliating manners, or whose knowledge and acquirements were better adapted to the good government of India than Lord Moira, could not have been fixed upon. He was a man who would do more for the benefit of that Country, and much more towards conciliating the good opinion and confidence of the settlements of that immense territory, than any Governor who had been sent out for many years. He was, in short, a second Marquis Cornwallis.

There were one or two points in the long speeches of the two honorable gentlemen who delivered their sentiments to the Court, to which he would shortly advert. That he principally alluded to, was the proposition of the noble Lord (Castlereagh) to send out a Bishop and three Archdeacons. Now, really, he could not see the policy of such a proposition, taking it in three points of view.—In the first place, in point of *religion*; in the second, in a *political* light; and the third, in point of *economy*. The Bishop and Archdeacons, it was con-

tended, were necessary to go out for the purpose of advocating the cause of the Christian religion. Certainly no man was a stronger friend to religious establishments than he was: but he must say for himself that he never knew a Bishop or an Archdeacon to forward religion.—

The Rev. Mr. *Thirlwall* rose to order. He said it was impossible to sit still and hear the observations of the honorable gentleman, without checking such language.

Mr. Lowndes continued, he saw with a sort of prophetic eye, danger, not only to the cause of religion, but to the peace, the tranquillity, and security of British India, from the introduction of an hierarchy into that country. He entertained the highest respect for the church establishment of England, and he admitted that it was very proper that we should have the episcopal dignitaries at home, but they were utterly uncongenial with the very soil of India, and totally inconsistent with the dignity and tranquillity of that country: for he hesitated not to say, that the very moment a Bishop was sent to India, he would be at once placed in a situation higher than the Governor General himself. Such a thing was never heard nor dreamt of before, as the appointment of a Bishop in India. Hitherto the Company had had humble, meek and unassuming pastors,

who discharged their duty in a humble, meek and unassuming manner: but if they were to send out a High Priest the consequence would be, that the mild spirit and unassuming character of the present priesthood would vanish, the cause of religion would suffer, and religious dissentions and religious animosities would arise.

In justice to his own sentiments, he could not forbear touching on this point: but knowing that the time and attention of the Court had been so long engaged on that day, he should not trespass much more upon their patience: yet he hoped he might be permitted to say, that he perfectly agreed with Lord Castlereagh in the concluding part of his speech, the recommendation of which he hoped would be adopted. His Lordship had said, "he could assure the House, His Majesty's Ministers, from a sense of public duty, and not from a wish of flattering any gentleman connected with either of the two contending interests, had adopted the plan he proposed; namely, a conciliatory plan, that the two jarring interests of the East-India Company and the Public should be united in such a way as to be beneficial to both." He perfectly agreed in the sentiments of the noble Lord, and he hoped it would have the effect of reconciling those jarring interests of the Company and the Public: but he

was afraid that the Company did not wish, with his honourable friend, Mr. Hume, to meet the public, like husband and wife, who had differed a little in opinion. Husband and wife, he admitted, should meet half way in such a case; but he did not think the Company would be quite so affectionately disposed. The East-India Company and the Public were rather to be considered like father and son: the father thinking he never could give too little, and the son, that the father could never give too much. (*A loud laugh*.) He did hope and trust, however, that the contending interests between the East-India Company and the public would be amicably adjusted; and that when they came together—the public, as the *son*, would consider that the father had other children to provide for: and whatever the parent had to give to the son, he would give it with good humour and grace; but, at the same time, shew parental tenderness for the interests of his younger children.

Now, there was one ground upon which he would stand on this occasion, which was—that if any right or privilege was to be taken away from the Company, there ought to be an equivalent for the loss; and there were three grand points upon which he would demand that equivalent: the rest he should be disposed to leave for

more detailed arrangements. The principle upon which he would make this demand was this, (keeping up the simile of father and son) that if it was not for the East-India Company, as a provident father, those children could not expect to have had a fortune at all. The first point, therefore, would be to ascertain the interests of the East-India House in Asia; the second, as to the mode of paying off the debt of £30,000,000; and the third and last, but most important undoubtedly, was the reestablishment of the Company itself. He thought this should come last of the three, to shew, that they were not actuated by those narrow selfish views which might be supposed to influence the conduct of individuals; but that, as a public body of men, they were anxious to deserve all the praises which Lord Castlereagh had bestowed upon them; and that they should do nothing to diminish the high character ascribed to them by the noble Lord; and that they might not place themselves in such a situation, that their enemies might say, the noble Lord had given them a character which they did not deserve.

Having trespassed so long upon the time of the Court, he should now conclude by expressing a hope, that whatever they gave, they would give it liberally; but, at the same time, considering

that the eldest son should not have more than was his due, because they had other children to provide for.

The Rev. Mr. *Thirlwall* said, he was extremely sorry to trespass, at that hour of the day, upon the patience of the Court; but he assured them he did not rise to prolong the general discussion upon the great question, which had already undergone so much consideration and had exhausted almost every argument. But there was one point which had been descanted upon by an honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. Jackson) and by another honourable gentleman (Mr. Hume) in such a way, that were he to sit still and not offer his sentiments, however humble an individual he was, he thought he should not discharge the duty he owed to himself and that body of men of which he was an unworthy member. He must tell that learned and honourable gentleman he was most completely mistaken in the opinions, sentiments, and dispositions of the Clergy of the Established Church of this Country: and it was too much for him (Mr. Thirlwall) to hear without denying, that they had the dispositions attributed to them by that honourable gentleman. Had the honourable and learned gentleman simply contented himself with saying that he would protest against an ecclesiastical establishment

in India, he (Mr. Thirlwall) would have had nothing to say to that point, though he should certainly differ from him: but, when he heard such harsh expressions of hostility towards the episcopal church, he was sorry the honourable gentleman should have suffered his feelings to lead him into so unmerited an attack upon their character. He was the more distressed at such observations because he did not expect them from a gentleman whose speeches he had heard with so much pleasure and satisfaction. The honourable gentleman thought that the appointment of Bishops in India would be injurious to the welfare of that country in a temporal point of view: for that *episcopacy* was naturally united with *temporal* power. The honourable gentleman was completely mistaken in that proposition. Episcopacy depended not upon temporal power; and with respect to the supposed danger arising from the establishment of episcopacy in India, it was contradicted by the facts and experience of other countries. In America Bishops were established, and yet no danger was ever expected to arise or had ever arisen from their appointment. Episcopacy was established in Nova Scotia. The Bishops in that country had nothing to do with politics. They were wholly unconnected with temporal power: and he never

heard of any danger arising from that establishment. Perhaps the Court was not aware that episcopacy in Scotland existed without temporal power; and he believed there was not an order of men in the history of the most pious christians, who ever surpassed the Scotch bishops in the blameless tenour of their lives. He knew many of them, and they did honour to that church of which they were members. It was fallacious reasoning, therefore, to contend that episcopacy was inseparable from temporal power. On the contrary he would maintain, that episcopacy was not at all hostile either to civil or religious freedom, or to any other of the advantages which rendered society valuable. He (Mr. Thirlwall) would not yield to the honourable gentleman or to any man, in sentiments of unlimited toleration to all classes and denominations of christians; but he did claim for himself, and for episcopacy, all those ecclesiastical privileges which, whether they were to be carried into India or not, were extremely necessary in his opinion, and inseparably connected with ecclesiastical government. An honourable gentleman (Mr. Hume) had stated that there were a great number of chaplains in India, and a great number of ecclesiastical appointments under the protection and patronage of the Company. He was not aware that the

clergy were so numerous in that country; but if they were, it was an argument in favour of episcopal appointments, in order to the good government of the clergy. It was of the very essence of episcopal government that there should be such appointments: but it did not, therefore, necessarily follow, that temporal power was inseparably connected with episcopal power. They were as distinct as possible. Now, he was a member of the national establishment, and why? Because he was an episcopalian. He was an episcopalian, because he was a member of the Protestant establishment. Supposing he should cross the Tweed, he would not necessarily become a member of the national establishment of Scotland; but he would be subject to the episcopal government of that country, unconnected with temporal power. Now, when the honourable gentleman had stated that temporal power was intimately connected with episcopal; that was a very strong argument against his statement; and therefore he begged to set him right upon that point. He knew that many people laboured under a very great mistake, (and it was an error he wished to correct) with respect to episcopal government; namely, the idea of temporal power being essentially connected with episcopal privileges. Therefore, when he heard those harsh

expressions of the honourable gentleman, when he heard him speak of that ambitious, assuming, arrogant (he was not quite sure that the honourable gentleman used the *last* word), but that ambitious aspiring disposition, as if it was absolutely essential to the support of episcopacy that the Bishops and church dignitaries should be ambitious and aspiring, he begged to tell that honourable and learned gentleman, and all who entertained similar opinions, that history and experience contradicted such statements. This Country, he maintained, was indebted to the clergy and episcopacy for her liberties. Could any man look back to the period of the Revolution, and recollect the magnanimous and heroic conduct of the six Bishops in the Tower, without being convinced, that there was nothing in the principles of episcopacy hostile to civil liberty? To hear, therefore, such language, as that used by the honourable gentleman, would be highly unbecoming in him, if he did not, at the moment, point out the injustice done to the character of the hierarchy of this country. He himself was a very humble man, but certainly of an independent mind; and he would do justice to the bench of bishops, and contradict the statement of the honourable gentleman, by saying, that there was nothing of an aspiring ambitious character in

the disposition of those right reverend persons. It was true, they had temporal privileges in this country; they had a right to them: but they bore their honours with meekness and humility: they had never shewn any disposition to violate the principles of our free Constitution. On the contrary, upon all occasions, they had evinced themselves anxious to uphold the principles of liberty, and maintain the freedom of the Constitution. With respect to the honourable gentleman's (Mr. Hume) argument, that instead of increasing the number of chaplains and clergy on the Indian establishments, they ought to be diminished, he never heard so extraordinary an argument in a christian assembly. The argument of the honourable gentleman went the length of saying, that all attempts to convert the poor unenlightened Hindoos to Christianity should be given up. Such an idea filled him with horror. Good God! Did the honourable gentleman recommend the Court to exclude the Bible from the shores of Hindostan, lest, by enlightening the poor Hindoos with the knowledge of the true God, they would be subjected to the temporary inconveniences of this world? Would he preclude those unhappy men, from participating in the blessings of divine truth, and enjoying a blessed eternity? Would he not endeavour to rescue them from that misery in which their

utter ignorance had sunk them? Would he not endeavour to ameliorate their condition? Could that honourable gentleman hear of the dreadful and unnatural sacrifices daily made amongst the poor Hindoos, without entertaining feelings of horror? Could he hear of a wife being offered up as a victim to the manes of her husband, and those other dreadful rites and ceremonies which usually took place on such occasions, without wishing that the blessings of Christianity might be disseminated amongst an unenlightened people, whose condition, without such means, could never be ameliorated? He was sorry to have heard such arguments from the honourable gentleman, and he hoped he would excuse him for having thus warmly expressed his dissent from such opinions.

Mr. *Randle Jackson* begged leave to explain. He said the reverend gentleman had put words into his mouth which he should be extremely sorry, should go forth from that place, as expressive of his sentiments, uncontradicted. It was not very likely that a man, who was himself a member of the established church, and whose life had been a life of reverence towards the established hierarchy of his country, should now speak so lightly of them, as the reverend gentleman was pleased to say he had spoken. But he begged to remind the Court what the proposition

was, that he really contended for. It was this—that high and vaulting ambition, was inseparable from high station. That was what he said, and what he would now contend for. He alluded to no particular persons or class of individuals; for he thought that the appointment of a lord chief justice or a Bishop, with a splendid stipend, was nearly allied to temporal influence and power. And to him it would make no sort of difference *what* the *profession* of the person was, who was vested with such high temporal power and influence, because the danger from such influence would be the same in the one, as in the other. All he now contended for was, that if such appointments were made, and accompanied by that power which was inseparable from high station, it would be a most dangerous beginning. He deprecated such a commencement, and he hoped in God that it might never take root.

Mr. *Hume* was sorry again to trouble the Court; but he must be allowed to say something in answer to the reverend gentleman, who had put words into his mouth which he had never used. He denied that he alluded to political power, as connected with the bishops. He had stated that no man would be more anxious to see a religious establishment, under certain regulations, in India, than he was. He was sure

the Court would do him the justice to recollect, that he began with that very observation; but he concluded by stating, that there were, at present, clergymen in India, sufficient for every clerical duty that was required. His chief objection was upon the score of economy; and he denied that he had used those improper expressions attributed to him by the reverend gentleman. *(Cries of question! question!)*

The Rev. Mr. *Thirlwall* expressed his willingness to apologize to both the honourable gentlemen if he had misunderstood them.

Mr. *Hume* repeated that his objection was upon the score of economy.

Mr. *Lowndes*, as a member of the university of Oxford, declared that he must be allowed to say he had used no expression of disrespect, individually, towards the Bench of Bishops. He had the greatest respect for those reverend prelates, as connected with the church establishment in England; but in India, he must say, he really did not see the necessity of having such appointments. On the contrary, he sincerely thought they would be dangerous. *(Cry of Spoke! spoke! question! question!)*—The honourable gentleman was proceeding to make some further observations—when

The *Deputy Chairman* interposed and called

the honourable gentleman to order, reminding him that he had already had an opportunity of delivering his sentiments.

Mr. Kinnard Smith requested permission to say a few words. He sincerely hoped that those gentlemen who advocated the cause of the Company in the House of Commons would still persevere in their exertions to obtain such a charter as would be perfectly consistent with the interests as well of the Country as of the Company. He doubted not that the terms would be liberal; but at the same time, he thought that if the trade were opened in the way proposed by Lord Castlereagh —unless there was a very great retrenchment both in this country and in India, of the expences of the Company, and likewise a reduction of all their officers of every description, and of their pensions,—it would be impossible for them to exist. At the same time, he did hope and trust that His Majesty's Ministers would in some degree abate of their original intention of opening the Outports, and that the Company would at least find themselves in a better condition than they expected. Indeed, he himself thought the propositions brought forward by Lord Castlereagh had not gone the length which had been feared. And he also did hope and trust, that they would consider the existence and support the property

and welfare of thousands who were dependent upon the determination of the question in whatever way it should be considered.

The question was then put from the Chair, upon the Chairman's original resolution, and carried unanimously.

Mr. *Hume* again rose, under some murmurs of the Court, to propose his motion; observing, at the same time, that if it was the wish of the Court that he should withdraw it, he would do so. *(A cry of move, move!)*

The question after having been seconded, was then put from the Chair, when

Mr. *R. Jackson* rose to deprecate the motion. He hoped the honourable gentleman, from a consideration of the circumstances in which the Company now stood, would himself pursue that line of conciliatory conduct he had recommended, by withdrawing it. In the first place, he begged to state what the proposition of the honourable gentleman was. It went to pledge the whole Court and the whole body of the East India Company in a vote of thanks, as it were, to the Ministers, for the liberality they had shewn upon this occasion. Now, for his own part, when he considered how much of the independent feeling of the Court would be sacrificed by acceding to that resolution, he must give,

for one, his decided negative to it: for even if the Ministers had taken up the cause with some degree of liberality, which he (Mr. Jackson) acknowledged they had, yet still such a resolution as this would not only be inconsistent with the whole proceedings in their present stage, but would be utterly useless, as it respected the general interests of the Company. He not only saw no occasion for passing this resolution of acknowledgment to that liberality which the honourable gentleman stated to have actuated the conduct of Ministers, but he saw danger to the interests of the Company, by its laying them, as it were, at the feet of Administration. He would put it to the good sense of all who heard him, whether they would be likely in any way to improve their interests by laying themselves at the feet of Ministers? And he would leave it to the fair consideration of the honourable gentleman himself, whether it would not be stultifying the conduct of the Court in the most extraordinary way, after they had passed certain resolutions, and recognised certain principles, inconsistent with some of the resolutions proposed to the House of Commons? Even the conduct of the honourable gentleman himself would appear inconsistent in some respects, because he had set out with acknowledging those views. But the honourable

gentleman's proposition assumes that there was really a hostile feeling, and an indisposition on the part of the Court to meet the Ministers. Now if that were really the case, such a proposition might be very seasonable. The honourable gentleman stated his reason for making this proposition to be, that that Court might go on in *their* share of the negociation, in a conciliatory manner: but he would ask, was it necessary for such a resolution to be adopted by the Court, in order to induce them to do that which their own good sense, their own respect to themselves, their own convenience, and their own interests, would prompt them to do? Surely, there was every disposition in the Court, without that sort of mandate which the honourable gentleman's motion contained, to become conciliatory There was every disposition to become so, notwithstanding any idea the honourable gentleman might entertain upon the subject. But the honourable gentleman did not content himself with the mere attempt at persuasion, his resolution was couched in terms of command. It was like a mandatory order upon the Court to crouch at the feet of Ministers: "that you do forthwith enter into consideration with the King's Government, acknowledge the liberality of their views, and thank them for what you have obtained from them."

Now, that was as much as to say, that as the Court could not get all they had been wishing for—as they could not get that which was essential to their interests, they should content themselves with just so much, if they could get no better. Could that, he would ask, be a wise resolution for a body like them to adopt? How could a proposition of this kind lead to a conciliatory adjustment, if there was a sincere wish on the part of the Company to second the proposition by their conduct? Surely a spontaneous, unsolicited, inherent disposition to conciliation was a better assurance to His Majesty's government of the sincerity of the Company in their conciliatory disposition, than any forced, stiff, and formal declaration upon the the subject. He knew the former was the temper and disposition of the Court; and therefore there was no occasion to make any humiliating professions of it: and he had no hesitation in saying, that, whether it was the Directors or the Administration which thought a communication necessary with each other, that communication, whenever it took place, would be attended with the highest possible honour to both parties: but, at present, he was persuaded, the Court must see it would be exceedingly ill timed to require that communication; perfectly persuaded, as he was, that the good sense of the Court, and the

natural desire they must have to consult their own interests, would induce them to remove every impediment to conciliation. For his own part, he really thought the resolutions of the honourable gentleman, if adopted, would be an actual impediment to conciliation, at the same time that they were inconsistent with each other. The *first* set out with acknowledging the justice and the liberality of those resolutions laid before Parliament, together with the substance of the conduct of the Court, and contained a great deal of important matter. But the *second* desired the Directors to go upon their knees, to communicate the *temper* of the Court, in an audience with His Majesty's Ministers, and to desire that they would do for the Company—not all that they (the Company) could wish,—but all that they the Ministers were willing to do for them. Now what advantage could be expected from such a proposition? for *that* was the substance of the honorable gentleman's motion. He hoped the Court therefore, would concur with him in beseeching the honorable gentleman, that he would not avail himself or take advantage of the usual forms of a public assembly, to propose resolutions of that kind; for he must know how it would read with the public, that such Resolutions of an honorable Proprietor in that Court

were positively negatived: and he would put it to the honorable gentleman's own good sense, whether the real interests of the Company would be consulted by such a course of proceeding? For, surely, the Court would never bring itself to support resolutions, which told them that they must throw themselves at the feet of His Majesty's Ministers to ask for *bits* and *scraps*. Such conduct would not contribute much to the respectability and character of the Company, and therefore he should hope that the honorable gentleman would think it advisable to withdraw his motion.—*(Cry of Withdraw! Withdraw!)*

Mr. *Hume* again rose, and said that, in justice to himself, he hoped the Court would permit him to say one word in explanation. He could have no sort of intention whatever, either to degrade the Company, or demean it in the eyes of His Majesty's Ministers. But when he recollected what had passed on a former occasion, and that the assertion on the part of certain gentlemen was, that His Majesty's Ministers had broken off the conference with the Company, he had thought, that the best way of securing conciliation, on the part of His Majesty's Ministers, was to adopt the resolutions he had proposed; and, therefore, considering the discussion in the House

of Commons as the *advance courteous*, he was willing that this Court should meet the House halfway. He had no objection to obliterate from the resolution the word "*liberal*," and leave it in the more general terms in which it was conveyed. He should, with great deference to the Court, still persevere in taking their sense upon it.

Mr. *Jackson* said, that the alteration suggested, by no means obviated his objections to the motion.

An universal cry of, *Withdraw! Withdraw! Adjourn! Adjourn!* proceeded from all parts of the Court;—when Mr. *Hume* again rose and said, that, as the sense of the Court appeared to be so strong against his motion, he should be extremely sorry to press it: he would therefore withdraw it.

The hon. gentleman's motion was accordingly withdrawn.

A general cry of *Adjourn! Adjourn!* from all parts of the Court, and the *Deputy Chairman* had put the question of adjournment, when

Mr. *Hume* again rose. He said he had a proposition to make to the Court, which, he was sure, would meet with the unanimous approbation of all the gentlemen present. He thought, on a momentous occasion like the present, the

Court ought to be guided by what had taken place on a former occasion; and he was sure that no man there would be willing to deprive himself, on an occasion like this, of the opportunity to express his approbation, and his feelings of gratitude towards the conduct of a gentleman who had so eminently distinguished himself by his exertions and his talents during the whole of the negociation:—he meant their hon. Chairman, Sir *Hugh Inglis.* He was extremely anxious to follow the example of the General Court of Directors and Proprietors, on the 3d of April 1793 As they were not likely to meet again before the annual election on the 14th of April, he was sure the Court would excuse him for having availed himself of this opportunity, however late it was in the day, of moving the thanks of the Court to the honourable Director and Chairman, whose public duties, every man, he believed, would admit had been productive of the greatest advantage to the Company. *(Hear! hear! hear!)* He was desirous therefore, that this just testimony should be borne to his valuable services on the present occasion. Without troubling the Court any further at present, he should conclude by moving:—

" That in consequence of the important ser-
" vices rendered by Sir Hugh Inglis, Bart. dur-

"ing the present negociation with His Majesty's
"Ministers for the renewal of the Company's
"Charter, it is recommended to the Court of
"Directors, after the election of Directors on
"the 14th of April next, to solicit the aid and
"assistance of the said Sir Hugh Inglis, Bart.
"during the remainder of the negociation, and
"that he now be added to such Committee or
"Committees as may be appointed for that pur-
"pose."

Mr. *Rock* seconded the motion.

Mr. *Kinnard Smith* stated in a few words his concurrence.

Mr. *Hume* said this was a resolution of thanks similar to that voted to Sir Francis Baring in the year 1793: and he doubted not but that the like unanimity would prevail on the present occasion.

Some doubt seemed to be entertained by the Directors, as to the regularity of the proceeding; when

The *Deputy Chairman* addressed the Court, and said, he hoped he might be permitted to express himself upon the proposition which had been so liberally and so handsomely made by the honorable Proprietor; who, on this occasion, had paid a just tribute to the merits of their worthy Chairman. When the honourable Proprietor had first proposed his motion, he (the Deputy

Chairman) had imagined that there was no precedent for a proceeding so desirable in itself and so agreeable to his own feelings. But it now became his duty to state, that upon inquiry, he was happy to find the same honour had been conferred on Sir Francis Baring, in the year 1793, as had been alluded to by the honourable gentleman. He begged leave further to state, that he had not the least knowledge, nor the least anticipation, that the honourable Proprietor meant to pay that merited compliment to the honourable Chairman. He could only say, that having frequent occasions of knowing the zeal of his honourable friend's mind—the anxiety he felt for the interests of the Company—the watchful and active share he had taken in promoting its welfare—his ardency in embracing every opportunity to forward those interests, and in a manner which could not be surpassed;——and knowing, too, that no circumstance, however difficult or perilous, could induce that honourable person to sacrifice those interests; it became him, it was as well his duty as his gratification, to say, that if such should be the testimony of their approbation and confidence for his honourable colleague, he should be happy in seeing the Company continue to be benefited by the talents and services, which had so much and so honourably

distinguished him,—although, in common course, the honourable Chairman would be soon out of the Direction. At all events, it would be a due testimony to his character and his abilities;—and the approbation of the Court, to a mind like his, would, he knew, be deemed the highest reward to which his ambition could aspire. There was one other observation he would take the liberty of making. He thought this act of justice, which was so honourable to the worthy object of it, would be a sure presage of the strength of the Company's cause, and would add to the probability of its success.—It would shew that the measures which had been hitherto pursued, meeting with such warm approbation, were likely still to be followed, and that no change in that system could be desired or ex-expected, which had contributed so much to the welfare and advantage of the Company. *(Hear! hear! hear!)* It was a strong indication of an intention, on the part of the Court, to persevere in that policy which added so much to the strength and good government of British India.

He would still intrude another observation, with the permission of the Court, in allusion to the motion which the honourable Proprietor had proposed, but which he, with so much delicacy for the feelings of the Court, had withdrawn.—In

alluding to the past, he thought the Court ought to draw some presage of the future. By that which was past they were best able to anticipate what might ensue. From the past it would be seen and acknowledged, that no opportunity had been lost by the Directors of promoting every feeling of conciliation; and he was sure he might with equal justice add, that the Court of Directors would never in future do any thing inconsistent with the interests of the Company: but, on the contrary, that they would seek every opportunity of conciliation consistent with the great object at stake, and the important charge imposed upon them.—What they had already begun they would continue to persevere in: and so far as he, personally, was concerned, he hoped he should again have the honour of rendering them his humble but faithful services: and he assured them, that no means should be spared on his part to protect the East-India Company in the moment of difficulty and danger. *That* should be the great object of his life; and to become instrumental in its protection would be the proudest honour he could desire. *(Hear! hear!)*

He hoped he had not said too much;—he was afraid if he had said less, he should have said too little. He was their servant; and it was as well

his duty, as his gratification, to watch and protect their interests.—Wherever he might be placed they should find him faithful and conscientious, anxious to devote his whole life to their honour and service.—He doubted not but the motion now proposed would be carried with that Unanimity, which, while it affords the highest honour to the merit that elicits it, will give additional value to the grateful testimony of approbation.

Mr. *Twining* said, that having been a member of the Court of Proprietors in the year 1793, when the resolution was brought forward for returning thanks to Sir Francis Baring, the then Chairman, and for continuing him in office during the negociation between His Majesty's then Ministers and the Company, it certainly did occur to his mind, that a resolution of the same nature might be offered upon the present occasion, approving the conduct of their honorable Chairman, though he never mentioned it. But he did not wish that the motion should come from the side of the bar on which he had the honor to sit, from motives sufficiently obvious to need any explanation. He was convinced, however, that some honorable gentleman on the other side of the bar would propose doing that for Sir Hugh Inglis, which had been done for Sir F. Baring: and it was with peculiar plea-

sure he heard the honorable gentleman bring forward a motion, which, he was sure, would give infinite *satisfaction* to every member of the Court present.

The *Deputy Chairman* said he begged leave to second the motion.

[However, being informed that it was already seconded, he then put the question, which was carried unanimously with loud acclamations.]

Mr. *Rigby* said he would not, at this moment of the day, have presumed to occupy the attention of the Court at all, had not a circumstance occurred to his mind, upon which he would take the liberty of putting a few questions. After the brilliant display of talents, and after all the information that had been laid before the Court upon this subject generally, a circumstance had occurred to him but had escaped others, and which he thought required explanation. What he alluded to, was the security of the pension paid by the Company to the most noble the Marquis of Wellesley. He was desirous of knowing whether this subject would be taken into the consideration of the Court? It occurred to his mind, from some observations which fell from an honorable gentleman, (Mr. Lowndes) respecting the Government making good the securities of the Company, in case the

Company should sustain any inconvenience from the loss of their trade. Now, it would be recollected, that the pension of £5000 per annum to Marquis Wellesley, was for twenty years from the year 1798, provided the Company's exclusive trade so long existed. It had occurred to his mind, that perhaps the very circumstance might cause in the noble Marquis's mind a degree of delicacy, which might perhaps interfere with the line of his public duty. Feeling that the noble Marquis might suppose himself to *appear* interested in the event of this question, though his independent mind would disdain so unworthy a consideration, he (Mr. Rigby) was desirous to free him, even from the shadow of imputation on the subject; and should therefore be glad to learn if any means could be devised to secure the noble Marquis's pension, and, at the same time, relieve him from all appearance of obligation. This was merely a suggestion of his own, which he threw out for the consideration of the Court; and certainly it was not his intention to make any motion on the subject.

Mr. *Lowndes* said in a few words, that certainly the noble Marquis's pension *ought*, and, he dared to say, *would* be placed upon such a footing as to secure it from danger.

The *Deputy Chairman* begged leave to state,

that it would not be in the power of the Directors, to accomplish what was proposed by the honorable Proprietor. It was a matter in which, at present, they could not interfere, and it must remain for future consideration.

[After a few words from Mr. Hume, pointing out one or two verbal alterations in the vote of thanks to Sir Hugh Inglis, which were acceded to, the Court adjourned.]

APPENDIX.

RESOLUTIONS *of a* GENERAL COURT *of Proprietors of East-India Stock, held on Wednesday the 24th March*, 1813.

Resolved unanimously, That this Court concur in a Petition to the House of Lords, similar to that which has been presented to the House of Commons.

Resolved unanimously, That the Court of Directors be empowered to affix the seal of the Company to Petitions to the Right Honourable the House of Lords and the Honourable the House of Commons, to be heard by counsel, and to examine evidence at the bars of the Houses of Lords and Commons, should such measures be deemed necessary or advisable by the Court of Directors.

Resolved unanimously, That in consequence of the important services rendered by Sir Hugh Inglis, Bart. during the present negociation with His Majesty's Ministers for the renewal of the Company's Charter, it is recommended to the Court of Directors, after the election of Directors on the 14th of April next, to solicit the aid and assistance of the said Sir Hugh Inglis, Bart. during the remainder of the negociation, and that he now be added to such Committee or Committees as may be appointed for that purpose.

RESOLUTIONS *proposed in the House of Commons by* **LORD VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH,** *on the 22d March,* **1813.**

I.—That it is expedient, that all the privileges, authorities, and immunities granted to the United Company of Merchants trading to the *East-Indies*, by virtue of any act or acts of parliament now in force, and all rules, regulations, and clauses affecting the same, shall continue and be in force for the further term of twenty years; except as far as the same may hereinafter be modified and repealed.

II.—That the existing restraints, respecting the commercial intercourse with *China*, shall be continued; and that the exclusive trade in tea shall be preserved to the said Company, during the period aforesaid.

III.—That, subject to the provisions contained in the preceding resolution, it shall be lawful for any of His Majesty's subjects to export any goods, wares, or merchandize, which can now or may hereafter be legally exported from any port in the United Kingdom, to any port within the limits of the charter of the said Company, and *that all ships navigated according to law*, proceeding from any port within the limits of the Company's charter, and being provided with regular manifests from the last port of clearance, shall respectively be permitted to import any goods, wares, and merchandize, the product and manufacture of any countries within the said limits, into any ports in the United Kingdom, which may be provided with warehouses, together with wet docks or basons, or such other securities as shall, in the judgment of the Commissioners of the Treasury in Great Britain and Ireland, respectively be fit and proper for the deposit and safe custody of all such goods, wares, and merchandize, as well as for the collection of all duties payable thereon, and shall have been so declared by the orders of His Ma-

jesty in Council in Great Britain, or by the order of the Lord Lieutenant in Council in Ireland: Provided always, that copies of all such orders in council shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament in the session next ensuing: Provided also, that no ship or vessel of less than 350 tons registered measurement, shall be permitted to clear out from any port in the United Kingdom, for any port or place within the limits aforesaid, or be admitted to entry in any port of the United Kingdom from any place within those limits: Provided also, that no such ship which shall have so navigated, shall be admitted to entry in any part of the United Kingdom, without a regular manifest, duly certified according to such regulations as may hereafter be enacted: Provided also, that no article manufactured of silk, hair, or wool, or any mixture thereof, shall be entered or taken out of any warehouse, except for exportation, unless the same shall have been brought into the port of London, and deposited in the warehouses of the said United Company; and such articles shall by them be exposed to public sale by auction, in order to ascertain the duties payable thereupon; and in all other ports as well as the port of London, such articles, when entered and taken out for exportation, shall be charged according to their value under the regulations legally applicable in other cases to duties payable *ad valorem*.

IV.—That as long as the government of India shall be administered under the authority of the said Company, according to the provisions, limitations, and regulations hereafter to be enacted, the rents, revenues, and profits arising from the territorial acquisitions in India, shall, after defraying the expenses of collecting the same, with the several charges and stipulated payments to which the revenues are subject, be applied and disposed of according to the following order of preference:

In the first place, in defraying all the charges and expences of raising and maintaining the forces, as well European as native, artillery and marine, on the establishments in India; and of maintaining the forts and garrisons there, and providing warlike and naval

sures: Secondly, in the payment of the interest accruing on the debts owing, or which may hereafter be incurred, by the said Company in India: Thirdly, in defraying the civil and commercial establishments at the several settlements there: Fourthly, that the whole or any part of any surplus that may remain of the above described rents, revenues, and profits, after providing for the several appropriations, and defraying the several charges before-mentioned, shall be applied to the provision of the Company's investment in India, in remittance to China for the provision of investments there, or towards the liquidation of debts in India, or such other purposes as the Court of Directors, with the approbation of the Board of Commissioners, shall from time to time direct.

V.—That the receipts into the Company's Treasury in England, from the proceeds of the sales of their goods, and from the profits arising from private and privileged trade, or in any other manner, shall be applied and disposed of as follows: First, in payment of bills of exchange already accepted by the Company, as the same shall become due: Secondly, for the current payment of debts (the principal of the bond debt in England always excepted) as well as interest, and the commercial charges and expenses of the said Company: Thirdly, in payment of a dividend of ten pounds per cent. on the present or any future amount of the capital stock of the said Company, also in the payment of a further dividend of ten shillings per cent. upon such capital stock, after the separate fund upon which the same was originally charged by the 124th clause of 33 Geo. III c. 52. shall have been exhausted; the said payments respectively to be made half yearly: Fourthly, in the reduction of the principal of the debt in India, or of the bond debt at home, as the Court of Directors, with the approbation of the Board of Commissioners, shall from time to time direct.

VI.—That when the principal of the debt bearing interest in India, shall have been reduced to the sum of ten millions of pounds sterling, calculated at the exchange of 2s. the Bengal current rupee, 8s. the Ma-

dras pagoda, and 2s. 3d. the Bombay rupee, and the bonded debt in England shall have been reduced to the sum of three millions of pounds sterling, then and thereafter the surplus proceeds which shall be found to arise from the revenues of India, and *the profits upon the trade*, after providing for the payments aforesaid, shall be applied to the more speedy repayment of the capital of any public funds or securities which have been or may be created for the use of the said Company, the charges of which have been or may be directed to be borne by the said Company in virtue of any act or acts of Parliament; and that any further surplus that may arise, shall be set apart, and from time to time paid into the receipt of His Majesty's Exchequer, to be applied as Parliament shall direct, without any interest to be paid to the Company in respect or for the use thereof; but nevertheless to be considered and declared as an effectual security to the said Company for the capital stock of the said Company, and for the dividend of ten and a half per cent. per annum, in respect thereof, not exceeding the sum of twelve millions of pounds sterling; and that of the excess of such payments, if any, beyond the said amount of twelve millions, one sixth part shall from time to time be reserved and retained by the said Company for their own use and benefit, and the remaining five sixths shall be deemed and declared the property of the public, and at the disposal of Parliament · Provided also, that if the Company's debts in India, after the same shall have been reduced to ten millions sterling, shall be again increased beyond that amount, or if their bond debt in England, after the same shall have been reduced to three millions, shall be again increased beyond that sum, then and so often as either of these cases shall happen, the surplus proceeds shall be appropriated to the reduction of such new debts respectively, until the debts in India shall be again reduced to ten millions of pounds sterling, and the bond debt in England to three millions of pounds sterling.

VII.—That it is expedient that ships built within the British territories in the East-Indies, and employed in

the commerce between India and the United Kingdom, should, during the present war and for eighteen months after the conlcusion thereof, be permitted to import any goods, wares or merchandize, the produce or manufacture of any countries within the limits of the East-India Company's charter, except as aforesaid, or to export any goods, wares or merchandize from this Kingdom to the British Settlements in the East Indies, or to any of the places within the said limits, in the same manner as ships British-built, and duly registered as such; and that after the expiration of the period above-mentioned, the said India-built ships should be liable to such other provisions as Parliament may from time to time enact, for the further increase and encouragement of shipping and navigation; and that effectual provision should be made, at the charge of the owners and commanders of such ships, for the maintenance, while in the United Kingdom, of the Asiatic sailors employed in the navigation thereof, and for the return of such sailors to their native country.

VIII.—That it is expedient to make provision for further limiting the granting of gratuities and pensions to officers, civil and military, or increasing the same, or creating any new establishments at home; in such manner as may effectually protect the funds of the said Company.

IX.—That all vacancies happening in the office of Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal, or of Governor of either of the Company's presidencies or settlements of Fort St. George or Bombay, or of Governor of the forts and garrisons of Fort William, Fort St. George, or Bombay, or of Commander-in-Chief of all the Forces in India, or of any provincial Commander-in-Chief of the Forces there, shall continue to be filled up and supplied by the Court of Directors of the said United Company; subject nevertheless to the approbation of His Majesty, to be signified in writing under his royal sign manual, countersigned by the President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India.

X.—That the number of His Majesty's troops in

India, to be in future maintained by the said Company, be limited, and that any augmentation of force, exceeding the number so limited, shall, unless employed at the express requisition of the said Company, be at the public charge.

XI.—That it is expedient that the church establishment in the British territories in the East-Indies should be placed under the superintendance of a bishop and three archdeacons; and that adequate provision should be made from the territorial revenues of India, for their maintenance.

COPY *of a* PETITION *from the* EAST-INDIA COMPANY *to the Right Honourable* HOUSE *of* LORDS.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled,

The humble Petition of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies,

SHEWETH,

That as your Petitioners have reason to believe, that the system by which the relation between Great Britain and the East-Indies is now regulated, will shortly be taken into consideration by your Lordships, your Petitioners hope they may be permitted to state the outlines of the history of the establishment of your Petitioners, as well as their present situation as to their property and rights, their functions, and obligations.

[The rest of the statements and allegations in this petition are the same, in substance, with those contained in the petition to the House of Commons.]

Your Petitioners, therefore, most humbly pray, that your Lordships, in any arrangement which your Lordships may see fit to make, touching the premises, will be pleased to continue the government of the territorial acquisitions in the East-Indies

in your Petitioners; and that your Lordships will be pleased to settle the trade to the East-Indies and China and other places, from the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, according to the present system; and that your Petitioners may be heard by their Counsel, and admitted to adduce proofs, touching the matters aforesaid; and that your Lordships will be pleased to grant to your Petitioners such relief in the premises, as their case may require, and as your Lordships shall see fit.

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c.

COPY *of a* PETITION *from the* EAST-INDIA COMPANY *to the Honourable* HOUSE *of* COMMONS.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled,

The humble Petition of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies,

SHEWETH:

That it appears by the votes of this Honourable House, that a Committee of the Whole House is now sitting, to consider of the affairs of your Petitioners.

That your Petitioners hope they may be permitted to adduce evidence, touching the matters under the consideration of the said Committee.

Your Petitioners, therefore, most humbly pray, that they may be heard by their Counsel, in order to adduce evidence to this Honourable House, touching the matters under the consideration of the said Committee.

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

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